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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Separation of Church And State

By Samuel McCrea Cavert

Methodism Confounds the Skeptics

—

What Can America Do for Peace?

Editorials

Will Mussolini Go In?

By Albert Viton

15 Cents a Copy • May 15, 1940 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT

is general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and as such has been at the critical point of the issue raised by President Roosevelt's appointment of Myron C. Taylor as ambassador to the Vatican. Editorial comment on Dr. Cavert's article will be found on page 628.

ALBERT VITON

has become well known to the readers of The Christian Century, as well as of many other magazines, as a commentator on European and Asiatic affairs. Mr. Viton was one of the first newspaper correspondents to be expelled from Germany after the nazi regime took power. He has specialized on the politics of the Mediterranean world, living for several years in Palestine and visiting frequently in Italy and throughout the Balkans. His latest book, *Great Britain: An Empire in Transition,* is published this week by the John Day Company. Mr. Viton is a member of the faculty of the political science department in Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

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Coming

Dr. Martin H. Bickham, for many years connected with the administrative staff of the Y.M.C.A. and later with various government organizations, writes on "The Peril of the New Racialism." Dr. Bickham is now psychological consultant to the American Committee for Christian Refugees.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

May 15, 1940

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Calendar of Coming Events

May 16. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Chattanooga, Tenn.
May 17-19. War Resisters League Annual Conference on Militant Pacifism, Northover Camp, Bound Brook, N. J.
May 17-26. Hull House 50th Anniversary, Chicago.
May 19. International Good Will Sunday.
May 21-26. Northern Baptist Convention, Atlantic City, N. J.
May 22. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, N. Y.
May 22. Southeastern Jurisdictional Methodist Conference, Asheville, N. C.
May 23. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Rochester, N. Y.
May 23. Northern New York Methodist Conference, Watertown.
May 25. Youth Temperance Council, Albany, N. Y.
May 26-June 1. Church Conference of Social Work, Grand Rapids, Mich.
May 28. South Central Jurisdictional Methodist Conference, Oklahoma City, Okla.
May 28. Central Jurisdictional Methodist Conference, St. Louis.
May 28, 29. Annual State Conference, Rural Church Workers, Lisle, N. Y.
May 29. Vermont Methodist Conference, Montpelier.
June 3-8. Rural Church Institute, Durham, N. C.
June 3-8. North Carolina Pastors' School, Durham.
June 3-9. Regional Adult Conference, International Council of Religious Education, Forest Grove, Ore.
June 4-6. National Interfaith Conference on Unemployment, Washington, D. C.
June 5. Baltimore Methodist Conference, Westminster, Md.
June 5. New England Southern Methodist Conference, Providence, R. I.
June 5-12. Annual Conference, Church of the Brethren, Ocean Grove, N. J.
June 6. North Indiana Methodist Conference, Warsaw.
June 6-11. General Synod, Reformed Church in America, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
June 9-14. Oklahoma Institute of International Relations, University of Oklahoma, Norman.
June 10. Interdenominational Day, Findlay College, Findlay, O.; Otto A. Piper, lecturer.
June 10-13. Annual Meeting, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Swarthmore, Pa.
June 10-15. Methodist Student Leadership Training Conference, Lake Junaluska, N. C.
June 11. California Methodist Conference, Santa Cruz.
June 11. Minnesota Methodist Conference, Windom.
June 11. Northern Minnesota Methodist Conference, Hibbing.
June 11. Conference on Religious Liberty, Washington, D. C.
June 11-21. Kansas Institute of International Relations, Bethel College, North Newton.
June 12. Southern Baptist Convention, Baltimore, Md.
June 12-16. Ohio Universalist Convention, Kent.
June 13-22. Grinnell Institute of International Relations, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
June 16-23. Golden Jubilee Convention, Minnesota Christian Endeavor Union, Medicine Lake.
June 16-26. Pacific Northwest Institute of International Relations, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
June 17-22. Methodist Student Leadership Training Conference, Battle Ground, Ind.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

AS THIS page is being written, Mr. Chamberlain has just finished the presentation of the case of the British cabinet to a critical and stormy Parliament. The necessity of defending his conduct of the war on the heels of a retreat from Norway as far north as the vicinity of Narvik, far above the Arctic Circle, puts him in a difficult spot. The criticism of his government's strategy may not be wholly fair. Such criticisms, by those who are more interested in results than in the means of gaining them, are seldom entirely fair. It may well be that the Allied debacle in the Norwegian campaign was due more to the situation itself than to failure to conduct the campaign with skill and energy. Perhaps the only way to have frustrated the German occupation of Norway would have been to do what Germany did and do it first. Are Mr. Chamberlain's critics sure that they would have approved a British occupation of Norway against Norwegian protest? There was plenty of demand for a "more vigorous policy," as there is now, but there is no record of any demand for that. The political prognosticators who are most closely in touch with the situation predict that the Chamberlain government will survive the parliamentary inquisition, but with changes. It has already been announced that Mr. Churchill is to have more power. That is doubtless designed to satisfy, at least in part, the demand for a more aggressive policy. But Mr. Chamberlain's speech showed him still thinking chiefly in terms of defense. He said the public did not yet realize "the extent or imminence of the threat which is impending against us," and that he wants "to be ready to meet the attack wherever it may come."

Chamberlain Faces Parliament

Norway Episode Shows Strength of Defense

AMERICA can feel safer than ever from attack from abroad by reason of the lessons that can be learned from the struggle for Norway. By prompt action according to a pre-arranged plan, Germany gained possession of the best ports and all the good landing fields. This was accomplished under conditions not paralleled by anything in our own situation. Nearness to German ports and fields was an essential. Once in, Germany, though an aggressor against Norway, had the military position of a defender against British attack; not a defender of Norway, but of the positions she had seized in Norway. The world now knows the issue of that contest between two relatively equal forces, one defending with full possession of superior ports and air bases, the other attacking by air and sea and by the landing of troops from a distance of only a few hundred miles. The failure of the Allied attack cannot be ascribed to inferior force or inferior courage. It is a demonstration of the insuperable advantage possessed by the side having the nearest and the best bases, other factors being not too unequal. Apply that lesson to the question of our own national defense. As against any possible invader, our position would not be that of Norway in relation to Germany, but that of the German forces in Norway in relation to the Allies. In so far as the cases are not parallel, the differences are in our favor. What it proves is that America is safe from attack. We need no vast expansion of our equipment for "national defense"—unless we want to put our lines of defense in Guam, the Philippines and Greenland.

Design of Warships Needs Reconsideration

IT WOULD be a great help in applying the experience of the European combat to American problems of naval design and strategy if we had more accurate information about what has happened. If we really knew whether a British battleship of the Queen Elizabeth class had been sunk by a single aerial bomb, as Berlin reports, or whether this claim is without foundation, as London asserts, and is merely a piece of propaganda designed principally to affect Italian opinion, we would have at least one piece of data bearing on the relative efficiency of ships and planes. That is important for a country which, like our own, is preparing to put a couple of billion dollars into naval expansion. The secretary of the navy may or may not have more information about this

incident than has been given to the public, but the whole course of the contest in Norwegian waters has led him to announce that naval design needs a thorough restudy. Warships are too vulnerable from above. There seem to be ample grounds for that conclusion. So much is evident, even though the argument still continues as to whether Britannia can rule the waves if Germania rules the air. But meanwhile our admirals are clamoring for the immediate construction of more ships embodying the same weakness that Secretary Edison says must be remedied. To be sure, they do not explicitly say that the vulnerability to attack from the air which characterizes the present vessels must be built into the new ones, but they imply it when they demand immediate action in their program of naval expansion. Fundamental changes in design cannot be made in a minute or in a few months. There are complicated engineering problems to be solved. And when new designs have been produced, they will still be experimental until they have been tried out under rigorous tests. The big-navy boosters know this perfectly well. It is elementary. But they are taking advantage of the state of nervous apprehension in the public mind to get a smashing appropriation for "national defense," though the vessels could not be built in time to be of any use in the present emergency even if present designs were used, and still less if the new designs are to be created which the secretary of the navy considers necessary.

Federal Council Secretary Speaks Warning Word

THE ARTICLE by Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, which we publish in this issue, confirms and justifies the confidence with which we have asked our readers to trust the leadership of the Federal Council in the crisis brought on by the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. Dr. Cavert leaves no room for anyone to doubt the soundness of conviction and clarity of understanding which obtain at the headquarters of that great organization on the question of church and state. He seizes upon the "warning" clause in the executive committee's original resolution (January 26) as the essential feature of that much discussed pronouncement. Dr. Cavert (no doubt with the advice and approval of his official colleagues, including Dr. Buttrick, the council's president) now writes incisively and warningly as to the consequences entailed by our having diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The fact that he would do so clearly implies that he believes the developments since January, including both events and clarifying discussion, have brought the issue to the point where the council must reconsider its hesitancy to disapprove the appointment of Ambassador Taylor and take positive action in fulfillment of the sharp warning which it then issued. As our readers know, The Christian Century takes no stock in the distinction between (a) the diplomatic relation which has already been established and (b) what it may "develop into." What it is, is just as bad as what it may become. It was bad in the moment of its inception, and it is bad as long as it lasts. All of the consequences which Dr. Cavert so clearly envisages as flowing from what he calls "an American policy" of diplomatic relations with the Vatican flow, actually or potentially, from the diplomatic relation which the President has established through Ambassador Taylor. While the scattered forces of Protestantism are moving separately toward a unanimous conviction that the present ambassadorship must be annulled, Dr. Cavert's able article brings assurance that their one organ of united action, the Federal Council, is moving with them into its true place of leadership.

Citizenship Granted Without Pledge to Fight in Any War

A UNITED STATES district court in Philadelphia has granted citizenship to an alien who refused to give the customary pledge to support the government in any war that might come. The applicant was the mother of eight children. In stating her attitude toward military service against the country's possible enemies, she spoke not merely for herself but for the whole family. "If they come this way, we help. To go over there, no." The point to be noted is that here is a foreigner applying for citizenship and getting it in spite of insistence upon her right to pass judgment upon any war in which she may be asked to participate. That was the very gist of the Macintosh case. Professor Macintosh was no pacifist. He already had what is generally called a "good war record." But he held that there were bad wars as well as good ones, and he refused to commit his conscience to the keeping of Congress by agreeing in advance to support any war that Congress might declare, whether good or bad. Both the court of original jurisdiction and the Supreme Court to which the case was appealed held that the country could not safely naturalize a foreign-born person who claimed the right to be guided by his own conscience in judging whether or not he would support any particular war that Congress might declare, though it is perfectly well known that thousands of American-born citizens take precisely the same attitude. Federal Judge Welsh, of Philadelphia, took a different view. He commended Mrs. Evanosich's position and said: "Here's a woman with common sense. Let's give her credit and not make our laws look ridiculous." To which the public may well add: Here's a judge with common sense, who sees that the loyalty of an applicant for citizenship is neither proved by a perfunctory profession of willingness to fight, at home or abroad, regardless of age or sex, nor disproved by a decent regard for the rights of conscience. Judge Welsh took a chance of being reversed on appeal. But perhaps he has a conscience too, as well as common sense. The two often go together.

Death of Episcopal Bishop of Chicago

BISHOP George Craig Stewart, head of the Chicago diocese for ten years until his recent death, was one of the outstanding figures in American religious life as well as in his own denomination. He would not have liked to hear it called "his denomination," for to him it

was "the Church." In theory he was a high Anglo-catholic. But his sense of fellowship was great and ever growing. That was "how his mind had changed," as he testified in his memorable article in the series in The Christian Century for May 10, 1939. When he wrote: "I have become not less Anglo-catholic but more so, only I am sure the emphasis is more upon catholic and less upon Anglican," he used the term "catholic" in its broadest sense. In saying, in another paragraph, that he had become "ecumenicized," he apologized for the barbarous word but not for the idea. Bishop Stewart was a man of tremendous energy. Not everybody liked him, even in his own fold. So much administrative vigor and driving power made him an irritant to the indolent and even to those who, though not indolent, liked to let the planted seed grow quietly and slowly toward the harvest. To his energetic temperament there was no contradiction between building and planting. Building must be done with unresting zeal, sometimes with haste; planting must be followed by patient waiting and cultivation without forcing; but both are imperfect analogies which must be combined in the work of the Kingdom. Something like this he might have said in explanation of his own methods. He was, as he said all bishops are or should be, "more eager to achieve apostolic success than to argue about apostolic succession." He built a great monument for himself in the congregation that he developed from small beginnings to the largest Episcopal parish in the west, and in the diocese which he administered with notable success for a decade. Methodists like to remember that they trained him, even if they regret that they lost him. Besides these qualities of vigor and zeal and intellect, Bishop Stewart had a lyric note and a high quality of imagination. It was a fitting recognition of only one aspect of this that a hymn sung at his funeral was one of which he had written both the words and the music.

Conscientious Objectors Go on Record

ALMOST simultaneously come two items of news concerning the voluntary registration of conscientious objectors. The committee on social service of the Northern Baptist Convention has prepared a plan and a form for the registration of pacifist members of that denomination. These will be presented for the approval of the convention which is to meet at Atlantic City, May 21-26. The Pennsylvania council of churches, at its eleventh annual meeting at Harrisburg, adopted a resolution demanding for all church members the right of a free exercise of conscience in regard to military service and opposing any form of conscription which disregards this right. A new and strong statement of convictions, renouncing war and affirming commitment to the things that make for peace, comes with the signatures of about fifty ministers who designate themselves as the Covenant of Peace Group. Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers serves informally as the chairman of this group, which includes many of the country's ablest and most honored ministers. Among the members are Dr. Abernethy, Dr. Buttrick, Dr. Bowie, Dr. Diffendorfer, Dr. Fosdick, Dr. Idleman, Dr. Luccock, Dr. Lyman, Dr. McKee, Dr. Sockman and Dr. Tittle. After a statement of principles and a disavowal of any isolationist attitude and any self-righteous sense of superiority either for the nation or for themselves, they pledge themselves:

> To have no part in any war; to promote actively and continuously, as the first aim of our nation's foreign policy, the cause of peace and brotherhood, of "peace without victory," and brotherhood without preferment; to contend against the abiding causes of war in racial injustice, narrow nationalism, imperialistic ambitions, economic exploitation, and inequality of opportunity; to aid and relieve to the best of our ability the victims of war in all nations alike; to cultivate as we can a measure of sympathy for, and as far as possible some knowledge and understanding of, all nations and their interests, in the face of a subtle and unscrupulous campaign of propaganda on behalf of any to the exclusion of the others; and . . . to promote energetically those forces engaged to bring about an early settlement without "victory," if may be; if not, then after the inevitable exhaustion of all concerned and the nominal success of one party or the other, to give ourselves and urge our nation to give itself as opportunity permits to the promotion of a Christian treaty and to the sacrificial building of a new world-mindedness committed to disarmament of the nations, and to the founding of a community or federation that shall strive to abolish the anarchy from which war comes and hold the common interests of mankind above the selfish interests of nations.

It is plain from such words that an influential portion of the ministry is keeping its head.

Reward Offered for Kidnaping Hitler

NOTHING would be more embarrassing to the League of Nations, one may imagine, than to have some enterprising band of kidnapers carry out the proposal of the Pittsburgh coterie by capturing Hitler and presenting him uninjured before the bar of the league in Geneva to be tried for high crimes and misdemeanors in violation of international law. Not to mention the political and diplomatic complications that would be involved, most of the members of the league being at peace with the reich and having technically friendly diplomatic relations with it, there is the trifling circumstance that the league has no bar at which an individual offender can be tried, no judicial apparatus by which to try him and no international code of criminal law under which to try him. Yet this project was soberly proposed by a company of solvent and normally sane gentlemen who underwrote it by the offer of a million dollars to the person or persons who would deliver Herr Hitler safe and sound to the league at Geneva. (And by the way, just what representative of the league would accept delivery and sign a receipt for this million-dollar package?) Dr. Samuel Harden Church, president of Carnegie Institute, was spokesman for the syndicate that offered to reward the kidnaper. It would be absurd to take too seriously a preposterous scheme like this, but it is not superfluous to remark that even the announced offer of backing for this kind of privateering might produce very grave consequences. Irresponsible filibustering expeditions have more than once produced serious tensions between the countries from which and those to which they have gone. It is not likely that anyone will take up the offer, especially since it expires May 31. But the news of it has doubtless gone to Germany, and the nazi sense of humor cannot be

trusted to see the funny side of anything that involves the Führer. The state department might properly speak a stern word in private to the Pittsburgh junta. This is an even crazier scheme than Luke Lea's project of kidnaping the kaiser after the World War.

What Can America Do for Peace?

BESIDES staying out of the war, what can the United States do for peace and civilization while the war is in progress? The question carries several implications. For one thing, it implies that the primary contribution of the United States to civilization will be made by staying out of the war, not by taking sides in it. This was editorially discussed in these pages last week. Second, the question implies that staying out of the war does not commit this country to isolationism: it implies a national purpose to exercise our full share of responsibility to preserve a civilization that is threatened with destruction. Third, the question implies that whatever the United States undertakes to do for civilization, in relation to this war, must be undertaken in her capacity as a genuine neutral, not as a partisan of one side. Fourth, it therefore implies that, second only to maintaining our neutrality, the paramount objective of American policy should be to contribute by pacific means toward the bringing of the war to the earliest possible end.

How can America, as the strongest neutral power, contribute to the stopping of the war? Thus far, the government of the United States has done nothing constructive toward the attainment of this objective. Its policies have been dictated by a mixture of neutrality and tacit partisanship. The United States is acting more as a friendly power on the side of the Allies than as a neutral. It has recently made two gestures in the name of peace. Neither of these, however, could be characterized as a constructive effort for peace.

One gesture was the sending of Mr. Sumner Welles to the capitals of the belligerent countries on an exploratory mission: Mr. Welles was to find out from the several belligerents the terms upon which they would make peace. As everyone expected, the reply he received was that victory was the only condition upon which any belligerent was willing at that stage to stop fighting. The Welles mission was merely President Roosevelt's way of saying to the fighting nations that when *they* were ready for peace he would be ready with the good offices of the United States to help them quit fighting in the most graceful and plausible way which the circumstances would allow. The mission was not without value, but it was not a mission of peace*making*.

The other gesture was even less significant, so far as peace*making* was concerned. This was the sending of an ambassador to the Holy See to coordinate, as it was said, the "parallel efforts" of President and pope for peace. The effectiveness of the papacy in the making of peace has been greatly exaggerated. There is no question that its influence in the civil policies of many nations and in their ordinary international relationships is very great. Its influence at a peace conference following a war might be substantial. Its influence as a partisan of one side in any war is, of course, enormous, as was demonstrated in the Franco revolution in Spain. But the influence of the papacy in stopping the war which is now being waged is slight. The ears of the maddened belligerents are as deaf to papal pleadings as to any other cry of humanity, and the papacy, if it is a genuine neutral, has nothing to offer but pleadings. The papacy was genuinely neutral in the First World War, and totally ineffective for peace. The new official liaison between the United States and the Vatican is scarcely more than a diplomatic pantomime, serving other interests, no doubt, but hardly significant as a means of stopping the war.

The responsibility which burdens the American conscience will not be discharged by the pantomimic diplomacy of a Colonel House or a Sumner Welles or a Myron Taylor. Such so-called peace activities may prove to be only the logical and psychological preparation for American participation in the war. As these alleged "efforts for peace" prove unfruitful, the popular disappointment will crystallize into the conviction that there is nothing at all the United States can do for peace. This will result in lifting the inhibition which national neutrality lays upon the sympathy which the majority of our citizens cherish for one side. If we cannot do anything for peace, they will say, then let us yield to our heart's desire and make sure that the side we wish to win, does win. Thus our neutral psychology and our peace psychology will pass into war psychology, and we will stand again at April 6, 1917.

If we had a government whose neutrality was heart-whole, whose sense of responsibility for civilization transcended its sympathy for one side in this conflict, such a government would quit the pretension that it was making "herculean efforts" for peace and would seek to coordinate those forces of Europe which are able to implement this peace plea with political power. The European neutrals do not believe the doctrine that civilization hangs on victory for one side in this war—a doctrine to which American susceptibilities too softly yield. They have but one desire, namely, that the war shall stop—shall stop in its tracks, without victory for either side. The European neutrals afford the true field for the operation of an American peace policy.

On the basis of their common neutrality, the United States should long since have been in active contact with these European neutrals for the purpose of common action directed toward the stopping of the war. If our interest in the preservation of civilization were as sincere as the high sounding words of our statesmen claim, and if our neutrality were heart-whole, we would instinctively have taken steps to create a solidarity of neutral peoples for the achievement of peace. There could be no doubt that American initiative would have found a sure and eager response in every neutral capital of Europe—including even Rome, so long as Italy remains non-belligerent.

President Roosevelt sincerely aspires to do something original and creative for peace and civilization. But his thought has run too conventionally in the grooves of pre-

cedent made by his great predecessors, notably Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. The former won an easy fame by merely providing a convenient stage setting for negotiating terms of peace *after* Japan had won its decisive victory over Russia. The latter's contribution to peace was by way of taking the United States into the war which he interpreted as a war to end war. Mr. Wilson would unquestionably have been able to take the United States into the League of Nations had he kept the country out of the war. America's profound sense of responsibility for peace will not be satisfied by entering the present war, nor by merely providing its good offices for a settlement of it *after* one side has crushed the other.

A constructive policy for peace must transcend the mad struggle of the belligerents. Civilization cries out today for constructive leadership on the level of neutrality. To this level President Roosevelt is beckoned by the greatest opportunity any statesman has faced in our entire history. Let him abandon the un-American assumption that he must make common cause with either belligerent, and let him make common cause with the European neutrals. They are the custodians of the civilization which the war is destroying. In contrast to the sending of lone diplomats on secret missions to the belligerents, let the President send an impressive deputation of, say, twenty American statesmen on a public mission to the neutral capitals—to Stockholm, Helsingfors, Kaunas, Riga, Tallinn, Dublin, The Hague, Brussels, Bern, Madrid, Lisbon, Rome, Bucharest, Budapest, Belgrade, Athens, Sophia, Ankara (not to mention other Near East capitals). Let this deputation be the bearer of an invitation from himself as President asking each neutral government to join the United States in a peace conference of neutrals, to consist of not less than 150 members, to convene immediately upon the completion of the deputation's itinerary, perhaps in Rome or in Madrid, and to sit uninterruptedly for the duration of the war for no other purpose than to find a way of bringing the war to an end. Dividing itself into four or more sections, the President's deputation could cover the eighteen or more capitals in two or three weeks.

What could such a peace conference of neutrals do? The answer, of course, lies beyond the power of any individual statesman, to say nothing of a citizen bystander, to give. Only the conference itself can provide the answer. But the proposal would hardly have arisen had there not been in mind some line or lines of possibility along which such a conference could act. The proposed conference would first of all confront the brute fact that the belligerents are locked in a life and death struggle in which neither side will yield until it is beaten. This determination has been absolute on the Allied side from the beginning. The Allied war aim has been single and simple: to destroy Hitler and his perfidious regime in Germany. On the German side, the determination to fight to the point of victory or exhaustion is steeled by imperial ambition and by the knowledge that defeat will surely spell dismemberment and national impotence for a long future.

A conference of neutrals, seeking to stop the war, would have also to face the fact that the situation out of which the war emerged could not be revived as a basis of negotiation for peace. Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Polish corridor, Danzig—the issues whose cumulative tension precipitated the Allied declarations of war against Germany—could not now hopefully be brought up for reconsideration. Since war was declared, Germany has taken not only Danzig and the corridor but (with Russia) has crushed and occupied the whole of Poland. In the political and economic framework within which those issues arose neither Germany nor the Allies is willing to negotiate—Germany, for obvious reasons; the Allies, because Hitler's word, solemnly given, has been so repeatedly dishonored that it is now worthless. Peace efforts by a conference of neutrals within that framework would only envisage another, but magnified, Munich.

Thus, such a conference would be confronted directly with the task of projecting a political and economic framework in which the tensions over these pre-war issues would disappear, or at least be greatly relaxed. That is to say, this conference of neutrals would undertake to do, as a means of stopping the war, what the belligerent nations and the rest of Europe will have to do after the war is over. It is conceded on all hands, by belligerents and neutrals alike, that a radically new Europe must take shape after the war, if life in Europe (and the world) is to be tolerable. Proposals are now in circulation offering a basis for such a new order. No belligerent is willing to explore these proposals, each having committed himself to the single aim of crushing the enemy. It is unthinkable that a military victory, after a long war, will find the victors in a state of mind to consider any new order within which the tensions of the old order shall be relaxed and ameliorated. Whichever side wins, the peace will be a hard peace.

But a conference of neutrals, each member of which would have a responsible and vital stake in the creation of such an order, could explore its possibilities, sketch however roughly its essential features, proclaim the united determination of non-belligerent Europe to go into it, *and offer it to the fighting peoples as the basis for an armistice.*

In all this the part of the United States could not be that of a paternalistic patron of the conference. We would be integral to it, on a parity with all other neutrals, and implicated in the outcome.

From the moment of the President's announcement of his purpose to project such a conference, the attention of the world would be centered upon it. As the deputation moved from capital to capital, the reports of its successes would be proclaimed in every nation. The bare fact that such a conference was in process of formation would stimulate a new state of mind in Europe. Its effect upon the neutrals themselves would be instantaneous and transforming. The psychology of lonely helplessness and fear and desperation which now possesses them would pass into a psychology of hope and strength, derived from the knowledge that they were united in the common cause of peace. Their neutrality would be changed from a merely negative reaction against desperate danger into a constructive and responsible championship of civilization.

And when the conference meets, its deliberations would divide with the war itself the attention and the anxious hopes of all Europe and the world. No censorship could

keep from any belligerent people the peace proposals which the conference would proclaim. No battle on sea or land could eclipse its deliberations. Peace would be at least an equal theme with war. The internal effects upon the populations of even dictator countries would surely weaken their military morale as they contemplated a prospective world order in which the real causes of the war which they are now fighting, and of future war, would at least be on the way to being removed.

A profound effect would be registered in American psychology. Our neutrality would be nothing now to apologize for, or to be juggled with. It would appear no longer as a lucky dispensation of geographical providence which has "isolated" us between two great oceans. We would have found the ethical and religious meaning of this isolation. We should then see it as a gift of divine providence, affording us no excuse for inaction and escape from the struggles of humanity, but laying upon us a unique responsibility for service to mankind. Let America embark upon such a policy of peacemaking, by associating herself with the neutral peoples of Europe in the common cause of stopping the war, and the whole disputatious problem of our relation to the rest of the world, which has vexed us for more than two decades, will be lifted into a new dimension. Peace is America's task, not war. Civilization is America's responsibility, not the destruction of civilization. And the neutral nations of Europe, browbeaten and threatened by warring belligerents, are her natural allies.

Methodism Confounds the Skeptics

THE FIRST General Conference of the Methodist Church is history. It combined rigorous thinking with enough bold proposals to prove that American Protestantism will find in this united church both readiness to break new trails and power for the day of battle. It was no secret that many went to the Atlantic City session in a skeptical mood. What was this new church? Was it merely a statistical triumph, a device for claiming eight million members? Was it anything more than a sprawling conglomeration of divergent sectional interests whose major attention would be absorbed in simply holding the fissured structure together? The conference put an end to all such doubts. The new church is a true unity, so sure of the permanence of its bonds that it is already turning its thought from denominational concerns to the public welfare.

Perhaps this achieved sense of organic unity was the most striking fact about the Methodist conference. To one who watched the sessions at Atlantic City it was hard to believe that only a year ago these 750 delegates had been members of three separate churches. There were no sectional signs in the voting on contested measures. In so far as the conference divided between liberals and conservatives—terms which had social rather than theological connotation—liberal leadership frequently came from the south and conservative from the north. The delegates showed that they were thinking nationally, except when they were thinking internationally.

To be sure, a majority of the actions taken dealt with matters of church organization. Under the conditions of a first General Conference, that was inevitable. Where were the church boards to be located? How should they operate? What benevolent funds were to be authorized? How were the parts of the church overseas to be organized and governed? What were to be the powers of the new judicial council, the denomination's supreme court? What provision should be made for the church's papers? Questions such as these had to be answered, and their consideration took up a large part of the time of the conference. But they were not decided in the light of sectional interests or by attempts merely to continue the practices of the denominations which had united.

Equally impressive was the evidence that the Methodist Church does not mean to continue to stand where it now is. From the opening reading of the episcopal address, the most progressive document of its kind to be presented to a Methodist governing body in decades, to the very end the conference was constantly taking advanced ground. A spectator remarked that there was not much rejection of committee reports. But this merely meant that the committees—in which debate was hottest and longest—as a rule reached conclusions which were in accord with the progressive wishes of the main body. On certain issues, to be sure, the Methodists have not yet reached positions which, at some future date, they seem certain to adopt. A few more years must pass before they will admit women to full membership in their annual conferences or free their chaplains from direct implication in the war-making system of the state.

These evidences of a desire to hold back on matters on which a preponderant will for change had not been achieved gave added importance to the advanced positions which were adopted. The series of reports, for example, submitted by the committee on the state of the church, and ultimately approved by the whole conference, constituted a remarkable program for progressive action on issues as diverse as keeping the nation out of war, applying a moral embargo to aggressor nations, establishing a peace committee in every congregation, instructing youth in "the Christian ideal of love, courtship and marriage" and young married couples in methods of building a happy home, seeking solution of the economic problem, demanding safeguards for all workers against enforced unemployment, working for the surrender of national sovereignty over "tariffs, currency, immigration, et cetera" (how much ground can that "et cetera" take in?), supporting conscientious objectors, extending the mandate system under an international body to control all colonies, and a dozen other contemporary problems that might be named. Only when all these actions taken at Atlantic City are brought together in the *Book of Discipline* which orders Methodist life will the forward-looking and forward-moving nature of the new church be clear.

But in estimating the importance of the Methodist gathering for the churches as a whole principal attention must be given to the evidence which it furnished of readiness to lead in the ecumenical movement. This was to be seen not only in the conference's formal acceptance

of membership in the World Council of Churches and its provision of a permanent commission to consider the further proposals for larger unions which the Methodists evidently expect. Such actions could have been anticipated. But the contribution to the ecumenical movement at Atlantic City went beyond such matters to the suggestion, implicit in the new Methodist form of organization, that the Methodists may be able to show all Protestantism how unity may be achieved while preserving maximum freedom in the administrative control of the various parts of the united body.

This contribution of the Methodists to solution of a problem which has long plagued Protestantism is to be found in the relation of their new jurisdictional conferences to their General Conference. As our readers already know, the Methodist Church in this country is now divided into six jurisdictional conferences, five geographical in nature and one including all the annual conferences made up of Negro members. In addition, a series of central conferences set up abroad provides for the administration of annual conferences in China, India, Malaya, Europe, Africa and Latin America. These will undoubtedly come to be regarded as jurisdictional conferences, and should so be considered in appraising the significance of the new Methodist organization.

It is no secret that the decentralization implicit in the jurisdictional conferences aroused grave misgivings on the part of many Methodists. "The Methodists have united three churches in order to form six." Prophecy in this vein could be heard right up to the opening of the Atlantic City gathering. But that gathering showed such fears to be groundless. The union formed of an internationally dispersed number of jurisdictions, all heading up at last in a single General Conference, will prove a true union. In the General Conference, meeting every four years, Methodist thought will be unified and codified; the denomination's program will be studied and projected as a whole. Then the jurisdictional conferences, also meeting once in four years, will be left to apply this general program to the particular circumstances of their own regions. In other words, now that this first General Conference has finished setting up the denominational machinery and started it to running, matters of administration will from this time on be left largely to the control of the jurisdictions. Bishops will be elected by jurisdictions. Benevolent boards will soon find that they must go to the jurisdictions to secure the support of local congregations.

One great advantage which this will give Methodism will be found in the new character of its General Conference. In the past, the general conferences of the churches which united spent their energies to an unfortunate degree on the maneuverings which are inseparable from campaigns for office and for control of denominational corporations. With all such contests removed from its agenda, the Methodist General Conference is now left free to *think*. The influence of this emancipation was shown in this very first session by the courageous pronouncements made at Atlantic City on peace, on the embassy to the Vatican, on the necessity for the separation of church and state, and on several other controversial issues. But this will prove only a beginning. The Methodists have found a way to protect that diversity of administration needed to meet differing conditions throughout the scattered parts of the church, while preserving unity of thought and direction at the center. This is already clear in the development of their central conferences abroad; it will work out in the same way in the relation of the jurisdictions in this country to the General Conference.

It may be doubted whether any one thing has done more to retard the growth of ecumenicity among Protestants than their fear of centralized authority. This fear has sprung from the domination which the tradition of the Roman Church has exerted over all Protestant thought with regard to church union. Since Rome has claimed to have achieved catholicity, and the other churches of Christendom all too obviously have not, the Roman example has been accepted with far too little examination as the only method by which union can be achieved. Rome holds a united church possible only under a tight hierarchical control, heading up in one central agency with infallible authority. But the Methodists are showing that a genuine church union, transcending sectional, national and racial divisions, does not require the Roman type of centralized control. The new Methodist Church will have unified thought at the center, but antonomous direction at the circumference. In this it will provide a possible pattern of ecclesiastical catholicity for the ecumenical movement itself.

A Methodist General Conference, under that church's new dispensation, leaves the observer with an impression of enormous potential vitality. This inheres not merely in the church's totals of membership or in its international organization, though both are impressive. But there is no sense of a spent force in this body. It is not wasting time repining for the days of the fathers. It is moving ahead. Methodist piety is no less real today than in the days of the saddlebag itinerants, but it is finding new outlets for expression. There is a new sense in this body of the serious nature of the world situation. There is a new sense of oneness with other Christian bodies. And there is a manifest determination to make the future of this church more glorious than its past. The conference at Atlantic City has shown that out of the fusion of the three former Methodist bodies a great church has been born. It will play a great part in the making of the united and still greater Christian church that is yet to come.

Preaching the Same Sermon

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "Do you ever preach the same sermon twice?" I asked a preacher-friend.

"Of course I do!" he replied. "Why not? When Shakespeare had written 'Hamlet,' he was not content to let it be seen only by first-nighters—"

"Without any desire to awaken misgivings in you," I answered, "may I suggest that the parallel is not complete? Are your sermons in the realm of sermons on the same plane—"

"The point has not escaped me," he said, "but there

is a parallel. Here am I, a preacher toiling at a sermon, sometimes even, as our fathers said, wrestling over it. I preach it in Ohio, or Illinois; am I then, when I proceed to California, to refuse to preach it again? It is the best I have to give, and the congregations in the west have something in common with those in the east, have they not?"

"Much every way," I answered, "and besides to write a new sermon would add much work to a man already too busy."

"Then the question is answered," he said, "and the court will now adjourn."

"Stop a minute," I insisted. "There are one or two trifling points I wish to raise. First of all, do you find you choose those traveling sermons on the ground of the serious toil you gave to them and of their centrality in your preaching or for some other reason?"

He looked a little uncomfortable. "I suppose you are hinting at my exceedingly picturesque discourse on Ehud, who was a left-handed man," he suggested.

"I never heard it," I answered, "and I hope I never shall, though I can imagine it will produce many words of admiration from those who love ingenious sermons, which I hate. But did you put all your soul into that sermon, and is it likely to win souls, as they used to put it?"

"There is more to be done in preaching," he answered warmly, "than the winning of souls."

"I grant that cheerfully," I said, "but you must admit that the constant preaching of your 'Ehud' sermon has some effect upon you yourself. Do you find that you are able to preach it with fire and passion and urgency or has it become almost a routine? Do you spend time upon it still? Do you try to get into touch with your hearers and speak to their condition, when you turn over the leaves—a bit ragged, aren't they?—of that 'traveler'?"

"Every preacher knows the difficulty," he said, "but perhaps you will suggest some way out of it."

"I once knew a preacher—" I began.

"I have heard that before," he answered.

"I once knew a preacher," I proceeded unperturbed, "who told me that his practice was always to preach when he was in a strange pulpit the last sermon he had preached to his own people. But he said that he was not sure whether or not it was the wise way. Anyhow, it was the way in which he could keep freshest and that was something."

"But I can't think simply of myself," the preacher began. "It might keep me fresher if I preached on May 19 in Connecticut the sermon which I prepared for May 12 in my own church. But can I be sure that I shall be speaking to the same spiritual conditions in that church which I shall visit? Will there not be something in the condition of mind and heart in that Connecticut city which calls for another sermon?"

"Yes," I answered, "that is certainly true. But why should a visiting preacher be expected to do the work of a resident pastor? And are there not subjects on which you can preach which are true everywhere and always? But I admit the difficulty. The worst of listening to a succession of visiting preachers is the feeling of monotony. There is nothing like listening to one preacher if you wish to have richness and variety. Do you know I once—"

"I am afraid I must run away—" he began.

"Not yet," I answered. "I once had to preside for many Sundays over a meeting addressed by visiting speakers. Never the same speaker, but very often the same address, at least in substance! I longed to escape from that address which, as far as I remember, was directed to the removal of certain false ideas of religion, which as a matter of fact no one present ever had entertained. Now a real preacher is at his best when he has to address Sunday by Sunday the same people."

"We have wandered," my friend replied, "but I may as well say that I have preached, I preach, I shall preach sermons many times. If John Wesley did it, why should not I?"

"No reason whatever," I answered, "only not 'Ehud,' please."

Ever yours in gratitude to preachers,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Spring Argument

DISDAINING men's polemics,
Dandelions still,
Stemmed in their certitudes, are
Incontrovertible.

Cobwebs thread the sunlight;
In bronze goes mailed the bee;
Each petal grows intense with
Sparkling lucidity.

The parliaments of flowers
Are contradicting doom
And blossoming with wisdom
That rebukes the tomb.

Exultant green in meadows
Has eloquence again
That's urgent for translation
By more than wrangling men.

LOUIS GINSBERG.

Wings

MOUNT upon sun-flecked wings of Christian thought,
And mingle with the habitants of air.
Hang above earthquakes, circumvent collapse,
And skim the cataract of swift despair.

Faith can move mountains: from sufficient height
A towering hill a tiny hump appears.
The Spirit, looking down upon the earth,
Can shorten seas and shrivel up frontiers.

Slow feet and swifter wheels are awkward tools,
While hands that sin and shoot are dangerous things,
But peace is in the undivided sky
Where the mind spreads itself on dreaming wings.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Separation of Church and State: Why It Matters

By Samuel McCrea Cavert

UP TO THE PRESENT TIME the discussion of President Roosevelt's appointment of Myron C. Taylor has chiefly centered in the precise nature of Mr. Taylor's status. But there is a much deeper issue: What is at stake in case Mr. Taylor's status should clearly develop into that of an official ambassador and diplomatic relations with the Vatican should become an American policy?

In its first statement, made on January 26, the Federal Council's executive committee warned that if Mr. Taylor's appointment should prove to be a "stepping-stone" to such diplomatic relations it would be vigorously opposed. What is the ground for such opposition? What real difference would it make if the American government should definitely decide to maintain an embassy at the Vatican?

It would make a tremendous difference—and it is important that everyone should know why.

No Mere Shibboleth

Although the particular phrase, "the separation of church and state," may be vague and inadequate, what lies at the heart of the idea is of high moment. The fact that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York could recently refer to the separation of church and state as a mere "shibboleth" indicates the necessity for our rethinking our heritage. If our fathers struggled and sacrificed for a shibboleth, it is time we knew it!

When our fathers embedded in the Constitution the principle that Congress should make no law "respecting an establishment of religion," it was no casual matter. They had abundant reason, both in European history and in their own experience in the new world, for appreciating the dangers of an official connection between church and state. The oppressive treatment of minorities by a dominant religious group which had the coercive authority of the state behind it was no mere figment of the imagination. It had been a fact of vivid experience. Our fathers were determined that in the new nation there should be a different situation. Here all religious bodies were to be equal in the eyes of the federal government; no church was to be given a preferential position in relation to other churches. There was to be equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none.

This "separation of church and state" never meant that the state was unfriendly or even indifferent to religion, or was to be regarded as merely secular. On the contrary, the framers of the Constitution were providing for the church a setting in which it should be free to order its own life without interference from the state. Every religious group was to stand on its own feet, free and unhindered, depending for its influence on its own spiritual vitality, not on any external prestige or power conferred by the state.

What our fathers thus established is one of the creative achievements of America. It has been the bulwark of religious liberty and has provided a setting in which every religious group has had full opportunity to develop its own inherent possibilities. Protestant, Catholic and Jew have all shared in this benefit. The whole movement of good will and friendly cooperation between Protestants, Roman Catholics and Jews in America has developed within the atmosphere of the separation of church and state and the recognition of the legal equality of all religious bodies.

The "separation of church and state," thus understood, is no "shibboleth"; it is one of the priceless treasures of American history, of as much importance today as it ever was.

If we would safeguard our heritage we must be vigilant against every encroachment upon it. That is the valid ground for concern over the possible establishing of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Such an official connection would give one church a special status in relation to our government. It might thus prove to be the entering wedge for undermining a basic principle of American life.

Some of those who would see no objection to the diplomatic recognition of the Vatican argue that it is the Vatican State, not the Roman Catholic Church, with which relations are proposed. But in principle this involves a conception of the church as a political entity, which is contrary to a recognition of the separation of church and state. And in practice it is impossible to distinguish between the Catholic Church as a religious body and the Catholic Church as a political body. To have an ambassador at the Vatican State would be tantamount to placing the Roman Catholic Church in a special position with reference to our government.

What Do Catholics Desire?

The Roman Catholic pressure for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican therefore forces us to ask frankly whether the Catholic Church would like to change our historic American view as to the relation of church and state. In general theory the Roman Catholic Church rejects that view, clinging to the idea of the union of the state with the Catholic Church. Pope Leo XIII in an encyclical of 1885 bluntly declared that "it is not lawful for the state to hold in equal favor different kinds of religions." Even so progressive and socially minded an American Catholic as Msgr. John A. Ryan (in the book which he wrote jointly with Father Millar), after explaining that the Catholic theory does not have full application in a country like America, which provides in its Constitution for the separation of church and state, adds that "constitutions can be changed and non-

Catholic sects may decline to such a point that the political proscription of them may become feasible and expedient."

It appears, then, that the Catholic Church accepts the American principle merely for temporary reasons of expediency because Catholics are now only a minority in America. Does the Catholic Church mean that if it should ever gain sufficient power it would be justified in discarding our cherished heritage? Do Catholics claim freedom and equality for themselves in America in the name of Protestant principles at the same time that they would (if they could) deny similar freedom and equality to Protestants and Jews in the name of Catholic principles?

These questions may seem remote from our present scene, but in the interest of clear thinking they must be asked. We raise them only to suggest that there would be ultimate implications of the greatest consequence if we were to give to one church a special status in relation to our government.

Will Mussolini Go In?

By Albert Viton

IN December 1938, while the dynamic and rather uncouth Italian foreign minister was outlining the development of fascist foreign policy, the Chamber suddenly staged a spontaneous demonstration. Both the speaker and the president seemed to lose control of the normally well trained fascist body as one member after another began pacing the floor and shouting, "Tunis! Djibuti! Nice! Suez!" It seemed that even the vaunted "iron discipline" of the black shirts could not prevent this expression of the deepest longings of the Italian people. The representatives of the nation, throwing off the heavy hand of authority, were at last speaking! The soul of Italy, crushed under the "eternal weight of Malta, Gibraltar, Suez"—to use d'Annunzio's phrase—was seeking to cast off its burden and to burst its bonds!

No doubt the sight would have been impressive, had it not been so ludicrous. One ignorant of the fascist technique, polished to perfection in the cooperative effort between the axis partners, would have been impressed with this outburst of suppressed national will. Unfortunately, things are nowhere less what they seem than in a fascist country. At least three weeks before the outburst in the Chamber, I was informed in Rome that the question of Tunis and the rest would be raised during Ciano's scheduled speech—and I foretold as much in an article. Truth to tell, I did not have to do much detective work. Every informed correspondent in Rome knew about it, for it was the confidential talk of the inner fascist circles.

Pumped-up Excitement

Since then "Tunis, Djibuti, Nice, Suez" has been brought up again and again in the controlled press in an effort to arouse popular enthusiasm for the ambitions of the regime. "The Italian population is increasing daily but has no land to exploit," wrote Virginio Gayda before the end of last year. "It is necessary that Italy be assured of a free outlet from the Mediterranean. . . . The colonial problem means to give new national territories to the Italian people." Dozens of officially inspired books have been published during the past two or three years to explain the need for colonial expansion; tens of thousands of lectures demanding colonies have been delivered; an infinite number of posters showing the empire that should be have been pasted on almost every wall in town and village to remind the people of their needs.

No doubt, this tremendous propaganda has made some impression. A sense of grievance has been created, and it is not easy to find an Italian who will not launch out, at the slightest provocation, to explain why Italy needs colonies. The subject is very vague, very alluring, and sounds very glorious. I am informed that in recent months the amount of anti-British and anti-American feeling has multiplied manifold, especially among Italian youth. The young fascists have been told so often that the English-speaking plutocracies, in league with the unspeakable French, have entered a conspiracy to keep the "fruitful people who are still capable of harsh sacrifices and fatigues"—I am quoting a fascist spokesman—from their rightful heritage that they accept it as an axiom.

The People Abhor War

Yet if there is one thing that is certain about Italy it is that the overwhelming mass of population—at least 90 per cent of the total, I would estimate—abhor war more than any other evil in the world. They do not want to enter any war—least of all a war against Great Britain on the side of Germany. It is not only that all the propaganda has not been able to remove, but only to shake, the traditional Italian love for the great democracies, especially for England and this country. No less important is the fact that the traditional hatred for the *Tedesco* (German) burns as briskly as ever in the breast of every Italian except Ciano, Farinacci and a few other high dignitaries. Half a dozen years of incessant propaganda have been sufficient only to veil that hatred, but not to hide it.

One does not have to be very long in Italy to see concrete manifestation of this spirit. The regime can arrange at a moment's notice an anti-British demonstration by university students. University students love to demonstrate everywhere in Europe; in Italy such an event offers a bit of diverting excitement in an otherwise drab and monotonous life. But Italians are not misled by these carefully staged "spontaneous" outbursts. In Venice, Milan and other northern cities the anti-German feeling is always vocal and even the fascist police has not been able to drive it underground. Even in Rome I was present once in a cinema when the audience started to hoot and stamp its feet as a picture of goose-stepping German

soldiers was thrown on the screen. In cafés I have seen Italians leave their tables in order to isolate a group of German tourists, and Roman spectators, although they love shows, display very little of the famous Latin enthusiasm when German dignitaries make their triumphant appearances.

Mussolini on a Party Line

Unable any longer to express their views in the press and in extemporaneous speeches on the piazzas, Italians have developed a unique method for letting Mussolini know their real feelings during every international crisis. It should be explained that it is common knowledge in Italy that the first report il Duce hears every morning is a summary of telephone conversations throughout Italy during the previous twenty-four hours. Police chiefs in every town and village report every evening to their district authorities on telephone conversations overheard; the latter summarize those reports to their superiors, until finally the reports come to Rome. A *précis* of these reports is daily handed to il Duce. Knowing this, Italians started phoning utter strangers merely to express their feelings over the official policy. To make doubly certain that they would be overheard, thousands began to call foreign correspondents, old enemies of the regime and other people whose lines are always tapped.

Il Duce, usually a clear-headed statesman with both ears to the ground, is not ignorant of the unpopularity of his foreign policy. During the crisis of September 1938, when Italy came closer to war with England than it has been at any time since formation of the axis, the *vox populi* became so loud that the Duce felt it necessary to give a public reply. This he did in his famous speech at Venice. He spoke of the "perpetual peekers behind Venetian blinds," promising that they would "be dealt with." But the criticism continued, in spite of renewed police activity. Italian public opinion, I am reliably assured, has since changed very little, if at all.

Only the prospects of an immediate German victory could bring about a real change in Italian opinion. Then, however, such a change would be dictated by pure self-interest, not emotional and intellectual sympathies. Indeed, the thing which always impressed me most in Italy was the way the overwhelming majority of the people have kept their heads and how little they have been affected by twenty years of relentless and incessant fascist propaganda. The overwhelming majority of the people like their Caesar, because many of his internal policies have proved wise and healthy. But they have retained their sharp critical faculties and are not blind to the faults of the regime—which is another way of saying that Italians are still one of the most civilized and cultured people in the world. I doubt if any other nation, except perhaps the French and British, would have maintained such a record.

Could il Duce Lead to War?

Could Mussolini throw his people into a war on the side of his axis partner? I can answer this question no better than in the words of a high military officer in Rome. "Yes," my friend said when I asked this question, "Mussolini could—but I will not say for how long." And Mussolini knows this, better perhaps than any other man. He may gesticulate; he may threaten; he may hold military and other conversations with the Germans; but unless convinced that the Allied cause is beyond hope of salvation, or unless he has lost his grip on the situation—a possibility not to be excluded—he will do nothing more.

This attitude of the Italian people should not, however, blind us to the undeniable fact that Italy confronts very serious social and economic problems which could not be solved under the pre-war international order. Undeniable is it also that the "plutocratic" democracies, the great empires, cynically disregarded Italian claims and turned a deaf ear to her pleas. Unless Italy is to remain a boiling volcano, provision for a solution of those problems will have to be made.

There is no escaping the fact that Italy is terribly overpopulated. The soil is poor; 40 per cent is mountainous and of small agricultural value; it lacks nearly all of the raw materials necessary for industry. It is estimated that with the utmost endeavor Italy can furnish a decent standard of living for only 30,000,000. However, at present the population is close to 45,000,000. To say that the fascist propaganda in favor of a high birth rate is to some extent responsible for the problem is true but irrelevant. Although the birth rate has fallen from 33 per 1,000 in 1900 to 23.7 in 1938, the yearly increase still amounts to almost 450,000 souls.

Ignoring the Basic Problem

Mussolini knows that poverty, in spite of hard work and frugality, is the basic Italian problem. Unfortunately, his imperialistic methods can no more solve the question than the superior attitude of the Allies. In fact, his policy is dictated by considerations which have only the remotest relation with the overpopulation question. His demand for colonies, for strategic footholds and for control of the Mediterranean is pure imperialism. Far from aiming to provide a better and more abundant life for the masses, he has only made them poorer by diverting a tremendous part of the national energies to useless colonial adventures and sheer militarism.

Neither Abyssinia, Eritrea nor Lybia has helped solve Italy's basic problem, although vast expenditures of money and resources have been spent to acquire and pacify these territories and to prepare them for settlement. Nor could any of the other Mediterranean lands which Mussolini covets be more useful. The whole Mediterranean basin is itself badly overpopulated. Syria and Lebanon cannot absorb a large immigration; Palestine is probably overpopulated already; that Egypt is, is beyond doubt. Although the total area of Egypt is about 1,000,000 square kilometers, only 32,000 square kilometers, or less than one-thirtieth part, is cultivatable or capable of supporting a fixed population. On this small area already live more than 15,000,000 souls—which gives Egypt one of the highest population densities in the world (460 per square kilometer). Iraq could no doubt support a larger population than the existing one, and probably Transjordania could as well. But it is the lands on the Mediterranean that Mussolini wants most, not these interior areas.

At the best, a long time would have to elapse before he could conquer them, pacify the peoples and prepare the deserts for cultivation.

Italy's social and economic problems are real and pressing and deserve careful attention. Italy deserves much more sympathy than she has been able to obtain. But it is clear also that those grievances constitute a poor justification for il Duce's imperialist policies; nor will those policies materially help in solving the basic problems. If anything the Italian people, already subsisting on one of the lowest standards of living to be found in Europe, will find their standard of living depressed still further as a result of the regime's vain adventures. Italy's problems can be solved only through a fundamental reformation in the whole colonial system and in Europe's economic arrangement. Such a reformation, many Italians suspect, is unthinkable if Germany wins the war, with or without il Duce's support.

Courtesy Across the Color Line

By J. H. Marion, Jr.

MISS ELLERBEE had resigned, but the papers didn't put it that way. She was a college graduate, gracious, intelligent, and respected by the community as a gifted, useful citizen. Miss Ellerbee had resigned her post as case worker for the Family Service Association, but the papers didn't put it that way. They said "the Ellerbee woman" had resigned. Even though the news accounts referred to her two associates as Miss Darcy and Mrs. Thacker, she was always called the Ellerbee woman, or, for a little variety, just plain Ruby Ellerbee. It wouldn't do, you see, to speak of her in any other way, for this was North Carolina and Ruby was a Negro.

Every day, all over the south, Ruby's dark-skinned brothers and sisters are referred to in precisely that fashion, and the fashion has become so hallowed by tradition that some may call it unchangeable, even untouchable. But I wonder if it isn't about time that we southerners made an honest checkup of this petty and bad mannered practice. For although both my grandfathers fought in the Confederate army and tasted the bitterness of reconstruction, though my mother is one of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and though my own love for the south is intense, I am disturbed and saddened by this tradition of racial discourtesy that is unworthy of the best in southern people.

A Matter of Human Respect

Negroes, to be sure, are not the only creatures to whom we deny titles of respect, but about the only other human beings whom we so strip of their dignity and personality are prostitutes and prisoners. The prostitute, haled before a court, is reported in the press as the "So-and-so woman," and the prisoner is tagged with an impersonal and degrading number. Being at the bottom of the scale, socially or legally, neither gets a title of respect. Yet the most cultured and law abiding Negroes among us are usually compelled to endure the same searing and contemptuous indignity. Some selfish rotter may drink his fill of booze and go out stupefied to mangle a youngster beneath his speeding wheels, but he will still be called Mister because his skin is white. Yet a refined and brilliant social worker—whose garment's hem, by any Christian standards, the drunkard is not worthy to touch—must never get "Miss" because her skin is black!

Said a charming Virginia woman recently, "I believe my husband would die for me, but he never thinks to pass me the salt." Where the Negro is concerned, many of our southern attitudes remind me of that husband. Like Scarlett's mother in *Gone With the Wind,* scores of southern women would sit up all night to save the life of a servant, many gladly brave the indifference of city councils and the wrath of taxpayers to get better schools for the Negroes, and countless others band themselves together to make vigorous, unremitting war upon lynching—yet they rarely bat an eye when their newspapers or their friends every day slap some decent Negro woman in the face by calling her that "So-and-so woman."

No Stopping to Think

The thing is so common, so widely indulged and tolerated, that I wonder if many of us have stopped to consider how cruel it is and how callous it makes us seem. Let a convict from a southern prison farm testify, as one did, "I have been treated like some brute, half naked and half fed; I have been made to get down on my knees and let some man beat me as though I were not a human being," and the general public reaction would normally ring true. White or black, that convict would have our sympathy and the brutal abuse inflicted on him would arouse our indignation. Yet by the use of humbling and often humiliating names and titles millions of kindhearted southerners have been inflicting a similar cruelty on many a sensitive Negro's spirit, forgetting that for people of feeling a bleeding spirit is harder to bear than a bleeding back and that feelings are not altered by color.

There are signs, however, that numberless Negroes are not forgetting. In a variety of ways, indeed, the inconsistency and callousness of our attitude are being visibly though silently registered. Southern white women complain now and then, for example, of the discourtesy of their colored cooks and maids. The servants, they say—and often quite truthfully—are getting disrespectful. But if it be true that such Negroes are paying less attention to courtesy these days, it is only fair to ask: How many real examples of it have they been shown by their employers? Good manners are expected of southern children only when their parents have shown the manners first—and used them *on the offspring.* Boorish parents, we say, deserve only boorish children.

Why expect anything different, then, of our servants?

It will hardly do to say that our colored maids ought to be as courteous to us as we are to our friends and families, doing only what they *see* us do to whites and not what they *feel* us doing to many Negroes. The golden rule doesn't read that way, nor can we bend it successfully to our prejudices. If we persist in always calling Negro women, regardless of their culture or sensitivity, "Janie" or "Susie" or "the Ellerbee woman"—referring to them, that is to say, in terms which to Negroes are dripping with contempt—by all spiritual and psychological laws we can only expect a race of servants who sometimes speak of us, and even *to* us, in terms and tones of pique and disdain.

Not Artificial but Real Courtesy

To be sure, in advocating titles of respect for Negroes in the south, one cannot afford to be sentimental, much less fanatical. There are vast numbers of Negroes for whom, in direct address or face-to-face conversation, titles of respect employed by whites would not only sound ridiculous but be actually embarrassing. From many a cornfield plow-hand, for example, the title of Mister would evoke only a blush or a self-conscious snicker. There is no reason for calling a colored janitor Mr. Green when, on duty, he would get "Sam" regardless of his race. There is no point in saying *Mr.* Roland Hayes where we should call the famous white baritone Lawrence Tibbett. Intelligent Negroes, I believe, aren't asking for artificial courtesy. They don't want grace on stilts, or manners in starch. But neither, when the occasion calls for a title, do they wish to be treated like human scum or animal pets.

Failing to win from their white neighbors the natural considerateness of a well bred human being, Negroes should not surprise us if they sometimes compensate for the social slap in unusual ways. There is the story of a Negro quarterback in the south who, in calling football signals, would shout, "Punt formation—Mr. Williams back!" Laugh at that as we may, it is we whites who after all bring about such amusing yet pathetic pomposities. If we dared to carry courtesy across the color line as naturally as we carry it elsewhere, many a Negro's artificial defense reactions would tend to disappear. For what to us whites are commonplace acts of kindness may be for countless Negroes unforgettable psychological lifts in the long and weary climb to rugged self-respect.

When 'Supremacy' Is Snobbery

As for our inbred southern fear that such courtesy might lead to racial upheaval, that bugaboo cannot stand up under close inspection. It is sheer nonsense to think that if we start calling Negro men Mister it will be only a step to intermarriage. It is equal nonsense to imagine that calling some Negro women "Miss" or "Mrs." will result in unbearable loss of white prestige or white supremacy. Genuine superiority is always spiritually determined—by character, kindness, the sense of justice, and by little else. A social "supremacy" based on racial snobbery and pride of blood may fit snugly into a nazi civilization but hardly into a Christian one; and if white people cannot preserve their prestige without being unfair or discourteous, it may well be doubted if we have any prestige worth preserving.

On this matter of titles a wise southern Negro, Dr. Robert R. Moton, has said: "A great source of irritation would be removed from the contacts of the two races if this simple democratic practice should become universal. Since it already obtains among colored people themselves, its general adoption by white people would hardly give rise to any presumption among Negroes. As a matter of fact, it wins a heightened respect from Negroes for all those white people who have the courage and consideration to practice it."

Women Could Do It

Changing our attitudes and customs here might be a long and difficult process, but I have faith enough to believe that if a determined body of southern women would go after this taboo as some already have gone at lynching, they could start something. I have a sneaking notion, too, that hundreds of southern women—some of whom confess frankly their guilty relief at being able to call distinguished Negro men "Doctor" or "Dean" or anything to avoid "Mister" when the absence of a title would be mutually embarrassing—would be glad to endorse a better custom if influential leaders would only start it.

"I believe my husband would die for me," said my Virginia friend, "but he never thinks to pass me the salt." If white southerners only knew it, millions of Negroes would be glad to swap tons of well meant uplift for a few grains of common courtesy and simple humanity. They would often be willing to take the chance of saving their own skins if their white friends would only pass them the salt.

VERSE

Illusion

HE who fights dragons in a flaming dream
Believes the battle real . . . till it has passed.
So how can man, who trusts in Things That Seem,
Know if he lives, or sleeps to wake at last?

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Brief Certainty

WHEN spring redeems the hills that winter claimed,
Resurgent life the only purchase coin,
Swart earth which felt her boughs and grasses maimed
Forgets the future's power to purloin
That growth again, as in the seasons past.
Instead, earth lifts up hostages to hope
As if the promises of May could cast
A year-long benison upon the slope.

Imprudent, yes, but willing to deny
Small caution for the chance of this reward,
Earth risks identity with sea and sky,
And knows the liberation of accord.
Disaster, drouth, and all their breed of ills
Seem far away, when spring redeems the hills!

ELINOR LENNEN.

BOOKS

'That They All May Be One'

THEOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE. ESSAYS IN HONOR OF HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL. *Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Willett, Clark & Company, $2.50.*

WHEN Isaiah gathered about him a nucleus or fellowship of faith, freed from all natural and political implications, he himself took the initiative and said, "Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me." Dr. Harris Franklin Rall had no need to do this. It has been admirably done for him by Professor Paul Arthur Schilpp, who has collected some eleven essays in his honor. The book is prefaced by a short biography of Dr. Rall, who for a quarter of a century has been professor of systematic theology at Garrett Biblical Institute. Along with the contributions of his students and colleagues, there is an excellent bibliography of his writings. A worthy tribute to a notable Christian teacher.

Three of these essays concern the church. Dr. Shailer Mathews' nine pages recall us to a sense of social optimism in order to neutralize the influence of the futilitarians, with their reduction of human beings to glands and complexes. Professor Edgar Sheffield Brightman gives us seven functions of the church as a society. His is, we can assure the readers, no petty denominational conception of a group of retired Christians with a private chaplain. As the one lasting international and supernational force in the world, the church, he feels, can put her finger on our wounds and say, "Thou ailest here and here!" The last essay, by Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, strikes an equally high note on "Let the Church Be the Church."

The textual study of the New Testament is the theme of both Dr. F. C. Grant and Professor C. C. McCown in two other chapters. We know, from his other works, that the first named is a champion of the *Formgeschichte* method. The evidence that the Gospel precedes the Gospels, that the formation of the documents as we have them was largely conditioned by the exigencies of preaching, and that criticism has given us positive affirmations, is an evangel even to the modern preachers whose hearts fail them for fear. The thesis of Dr. McCown is concerned with the anti-social reactions that have come in the wake of the war. There lies little hope in the mere modernizing of Jesus. Rather must there be "not the direct application of specific words of Jesus, but a broad understanding of his total spirit and purpose," in order that his religion may be made socially significant.

There are six essays that may be called theological. Professor Eugene Lyman appraises the realistic movement in theology to which he personally subscribes. His position is one of personal realism and the union of critical realism with mysticism, and he believes that the development of a *panrealism* would help to subsume the various types, which include Whitehead and von Hügel.

In the article on "The Christian Doctrine of Man," Professor Albert Knudson describes man as an essentially spiritual and free being. In contrast to pantheism, naturalism and dualism he places a conception of the intrinsic worth of the human soul. Bishop Francis McConnell, in "Facing the Problem of Evil," modifies the Leibniz formula to read that "this is the best possible world *under the circumstances.*" He dwells upon the fallacy of regarding evil *en masse,* when really the problem is no greater than that which each individual must endure. The Christian character of God, as one who is with us in the struggle, is also stressed.

The editor, Professor Paul Schilpp, devotes his skill to discussing "The Meaning of Rational Faith." He makes the fundamental distinction between knowledge and faith that the former is capable of being tested and verified, while faith, on the other hand, is essentially speculative, although subject to reason and past human experience.

To Dr. Irl Goldwin Whitchurch was given the short biographical chapter on Dr. Rall, and he has also contributed the essay on "Interpreting the Religious Situation." Here we have a penetrating insight into the epistemological weakness of both rationalism and empiricism. Certainly, the severance between knowledge and reality has had tragic consequences in a breakdown of the unitary world view. The "ontological accent" and the recognition of the place of symbol in religion complete one of the best and most concise statements of the relation between scientific and religious knowledge we have seen for some time.

The first is made last when we mention Professor Samuel S. Cohon's chapter on immortality. He relates the monotheistic faith to belief in personal immortality, which is deemed to be both an intrinsic attribute of the soul and an achievement.

Behold how good and how pleasant it is to see brethren bound together in such theological unity! Dr. Rall, like his Master, has made Jew and Gentile one in this volume, and broken down the middle wall of partition that often is found in departmental minds. The majority of these men are Methodists, but one would never know it. They unconsciously have served to reflect the *polupoikilos* wisdom of God and the unity of the faith.

W. P. LEMON.

Books in Brief

FIRST PORT OF CALL. *By Elizabeth Jordan. D. Appleton-Century Company, $2.00.*

The earliest Christian writers who undertook to depict the state of man after death were content to represent his permanent abode in the vivid imagery of golden streets or everlasting fire, as the case might be. Catholic thought interpolated a purgatory as a preparation for ultimate and eternal bliss. Dante gave the classical, almost canonical, representation of all three with circumstantial and personal details. Some modern writers, agreeing that even the virtuous need further training and unwilling to consign even the wicked to irremediable disaster, have envisaged more humane purgatories where sinners shall be called to repentance as well as the righteous to improvement. Since neither reason nor revelation throws much light here and imagination is the only resource, this has been the work of novelists, not of theologians. Captain Brunt's *Voyage to Cacklogallinia,* first published in 1727 (see The Christian Century, Feb. 28, page 283), included a journey to the moon, which was found pleasantly to serve a purgatorial purpose. A recent book with a similar argument but less fantastic in detail is *After This,* by "Ryland Kent" (reviewed Nov. 8, 1939). Now Elizabeth Jordan, with a dozen novels already to her credit (and they really are a credit), turns to the same theme. Her characters are the passengers of a wrecked plane who, having floated in the sea until their state was desperate, suddenly find themselves on an island where, in the course of an involuntary house party at an otherwise uninhabited chateau, they gradually discover that they have died and are there to learn the things life had not taught them. The chief educational and

remedial agency seems to be publicity for their respective pasts. "Groupers" never made more ruthless revelations of their sins than those which are given in the series of visions in which the life of each is successively unveiled to all. The central character, a selfish heiress, who had steadfastly refused to admit that she was dead and was determined to "go back" and make good where she had gone wrong, wakes up on a rescue ship to find that she had been resuscitated after being pronounced dead for four hours. She went back a changed woman, but her companions at the house party were really dead. As a parable the novel is thought-provoking, which is all that can be asked of any parable. The island was neither heaven nor hell, of course, but the "first port of call" for outward bound souls.

WOLVES AGAINST THE MOON. *By Julia Cooley Altrocchi. The Macmillan Company, $2.75.*

Just a little way back from the shore of Lake Michigan at its southern tip and a few miles east of Gary, Indiana, there is a spot still called Baileytown. From about 1820 to 1830 it was Bailly's Trading Post, headquarters of Joseph Bailly, who traded in furs from Quebec to New Orleans and Santa Fe. There is a chapter about him in George A. Brennan's *The Wonders of the Dunes,* and rightly, for Baileytown is in the heart of that "duneland" which some consider Chicago's most interesting and picturesque suburb. Mrs. Altrocchi's able and fascinating novel is built around the life of Joseph Bailly. He was French, born in Quebec, heir to an honored name and a broken fortune. From early manhood he made his way in the west among trappers, traders, Indians and scattered white settlers. The story is more than a tale of adventure; it is authentic history of a period when history itself was a tale of adventure, intrigue and heroic endeavor. A civilization was being born with no merciful twilight sleep. The author has done enough research for a Ph.D. thesis and she respects the known and knowable facts. Many of her characters are historical, drawn in careful conformity with the documentary evidence, but she has enriched the personnel with some figures of her own creation. The stream of her narrative widens to include some notable episodes, such as the Fort Dearborn massacre, at which Joseph Bailly was not personally present but which deeply affected his friends and fortunes. It is relevant to note that Mrs. Altrocchi, now a resident of Palo Alto, California, has for many years had her summer home in the dunes not far from Baileytown. A few years ago she wrote a book-length poem, *Snow Covered Wagons,* a splendid epic of the disastrous Donner expedition.

RELIGION IN THE REICH. *By Michael Power. Longmans, Green & Company, $2.00.*

Readers are already familiar with Dr. Nathaniel Micklem's *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church* (reviewed Nov. 29, 1939), which presented a detailed record of nazi violations of the concordat and interpreted the persecution of the church as the result not of sadistic tendencies but of a fundamental clash between religion and the principles of National Socialism. The present volume gives less attention to the irreconcilable opposition of ideologies and a more gruesome factual account of the indignities that have been inflicted upon both Catholics and Protestants, especially during the two years preceding the outbreak of the war in 1939. The data were collected in the course of repeated visits to Germany and much of it is eye-witness testimony.

A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS NEW ENGLAND. *By Jonathan Daniels. The Macmillan Company, $3.00.*

This book completes the proof that there are two kinds of good books about places: those written by natives and those written by aliens. The first part of that proposition was demonstrated by Mr. Daniels in his *A Southerner Discovers the South.* Whether native or alien, the author of a book about a place or a region must of course take the trouble to get the facts. Without serious, open-minded and persistent investigation, there may be as much superficiality, prejudice and misrepresentation in one case as in the other. Mr. Daniels has explored New England in all its geographical extent and in all the ranges of its culture—its business, politics, education, religion and society, its playgrounds and workshops, its racial problems and its food. It is gracious, as well as discriminating, for this southerner to say that he has found New Englanders as hospitable as any people on earth.

AS STEEL GOES, UNIONISM IN A BASIC INDUSTRY. *By Robert R. R. Brooks. Yale University Press, $3.00.*

Mr. Brooks, assistant professor of economics at Williams, has already written two important books on labor: *When Labor Organizes,* and *Unions of Their Own Choosing.* The present volume is a detailed study of the organization of labor in the steel industry, from the old no-union days, through the company-union phase, through the periods of boom and depression, down to and including the rivalry of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. and the activities of the National Labor Relations Board. The survey includes both Big Steel and Little Steel and the strikes in 1937. Much of the material is presented in the form of individual statements or case studies of particular episodes. Practically all of it is first-hand data, including of course a great deal that is *ex parte.* The general point of view is favorable to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, an affiliate of the C.I.O. The author states his own bias as being toward "peaceful, cooperative, democratic collective bargaining."

Books Received

The Confessions of an Individualist. By William Henry Chamberlin. Macmillan, $3.00. (To be published May 21.)

Ethan Allen. By Stewart H. Holbrook. Macmillan, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Alaska Holiday. By Barret Willoughby. Little, Brown & Co., $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Housing in Scandinavia, Urban and Rural. By John Graham, Jr. University of North Carolina Press, $2.50. At the moment, the most acute housing question in Norway seems to be whether or not any houses will be left standing. This book was written before the invasion of Finland and Norway and the German occupation of Denmark. It reports upon the development of housing projects in those countries and Sweden during the years of peace. These four democratic countries, with less violent extremes of poverty and wealth than most, have followed the principle of "help to self-help." In rural areas, the encouragement of small holdings has been emphasized; in cities, the anticipation of rising cost of land by government purchase of sites in advance of speculative skyrocketing of prices. The Scandinavian achievements in improving housing do not furnish patterns to be copied but suggestive and inspiring ideas.

Great Britain, An Empire in Transition. By Albert Viton. John Day, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Tennant's Philosophical Theology. By Delton Lewis Scudder. Yale University Press, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Seer's House, Interpretations and Meditations. By Robert Nelson Spencer. Scribners, $1.50. If these "interpretations and meditations" were never preached, they ought to be, from many pulpits, for there is in them the root of the matter that all good preaching is about. They flow smoothly and limpidly, like urbane essays, with no homiletical "firstly, secondly, thirdly," but their substance is rugged. The author is Episcopal Bishop of Western Missouri.

American Policy in the Far East, 1931-1940. By T. A. Bisson. Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 E. 52nd St., New York, $1.25. The author, a member of the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association, is more concerned with the presentation of the facts relative to American policy in the Far East during the past decade than with the advocacy of any specific course of action in the future. The record is carefully supported by evidence and supplemented by fifty pages of documents.

Historical Tables. By S. H. Steinberg. Macmillan, $3.50. Students and studious readers of history will use this as a desk-book rather than a shelf-book. The period covered begins with the Roman Empire. Each double-page spread is divided into six columns. The headings vary as the scene changes, but these run through many centuries: western Europe; central, northern and eastern Europe; Islam and Asia; ecclesiastical history; constitutional and economic history; cultural life. Later, "countries overseas" becomes a category. Still later "America" has a column of its own. "Ecclesiastical history" drops out at 1657; so an event as important as the Savoy conference is not listed, though the publication of Dryden's *Astraea Redux* in the same year has a place. The volume is a conspectus of the events of two thousand years, arranged topically and chronologically.

Your Career in Business. By Walter Hoving. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.00. Mr. Hoving, being president of Lord & Taylor and of the Fifth Avenue Association, should be presumed to know something about getting ahead in business. And he does. His book is full of a successful business man's advice about getting and holding a job. Well, not so much about getting; his only important advice there is to consider that getting a job is itself a nine-to-five job to be worked at as energetically as any other. This is good advice to the individual but no particular contribution toward remedying a condition in which there are more men than jobs. But taking the whole system as it is, he gives good counsel about getting on in it.

CORRESPONDENCE

India's Problem--The Birth Rate

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Professor Viton in his recent article on India displayed a gift for extraordinary synthesis. It is quite plain that British policies in India have been the resultant of the struggles between liberals and tories, laborites and diehards, and that they have been administered by men of similarly varying principles and temperaments. But Professor Viton discerns that the result was unmitigated imperialism.

To bolster this daring synthesis, the professor observes that "the British have aggravated all the old problems and created many new ones." But in giving the particulars of this sweeping indictment he omits any mention of a problem which able students of India, from Lord Curzon to the Factfinders of the Laymen's Inquiry, have considered to be "probably the dominant economic and social problem of India," namely, "the severity of the pressure of the population tending to outstrip any temporary improvement in the subsistence level." (Factfinders Reports, Vol. IV, p. 9.) This is the real problem of the terrible poverty of India, where half the population is not adequately nourished, and somewhere between sixty and a hundred million people are almost constantly hungry.

Why is this? Primarily because India has a social system geared, for two or three thousand years (before the British rule), to periodical decimation of the population by wars and invasions, famines, and epidemics of plague, cholera, smallpox, etc. A high birth rate was developed to repopulate the land after each visit of these scourges. But then came the British rule and with it the progressive elimination of these three agents of death. Peace was secure, at least within India. Famines were eliminated by transportation systems and government organizations which brought food to drouth-stricken areas. Epidemics have nearly disappeared because of public health measures. But the birth rate stayed the same. So the population began increasing, and is continuing to increase. Food production could be increased some, but not as fast as the population. Eventually there had to come a time when millions were living, as today, on the verge of starvation where malnutrition and disease can bring down the population to where the food supply can catch up with it.

Professor Viton has not thought it worth while to point out that the British produced this staggering problem by eliminating the factors which balanced the high birth rate with an equal death rate. This is not quite what he means when he says that "responsibility for India's immense poverty must rest to a very large extent on the British." Perhaps he suspects that if his readers understood the real causes of India's poverty they would not blame the government which eliminated the death-dealing scourges, but rather the social system which maintains the high birth rate. Especially since that social system fosters the breeding of children without regard to their feeding, education or subsequent employment, and the marriage of girls at an average age of less than 13 (computed from 1931 census figures) in order to have them begin the process at the earliest possible moment.

Oberlin, Ohio. STEPHEN P. HIEB.

Wanted: Another Name

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "The Next Step Toward Church Unity," as explained in the article by J. Henry Carpenter, is clear and helpful. But may we be forever delivered from having any organization called "The International Council of the Churches of Christ in America". That tonsil-twister would scare off most any self-respecting pew sitter. "The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" is already bad enough.

Why can't we be simple? If "The World Council of Churches" can exist with a five word title, the churches of a continent should surely be able to stumble along with four words. I propose "The American Church Council."

Baptist Church, FRANKLIN D. ELMER, JR.
Lockport, N. Y.

The Vatican and Belligerents

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The article by "Romulus" recently published, "Toward a Concordat," states that "he [the pope] pledged himself to break off all intercourse, diplomatic or otherwise, with any foreign power actually at war with Italy." I am unable to find any such stipulation in the Lateran treaty; and, on the contrary, I find this stated: "It is agreed that Italy pledges forever in every case to let pass freely correspondence of all states, *including belligerents*, both to the Holy See and vice versa. . . ." (Lateran Treaty, Art. XII.)

From my viewpoint this whole discussion of Mr. Taylor's appointment is unprofitable and only incites bigotry. As an Anglican, I have the deepest reverence for the see which from antiquity has ever held the primacy of honor, and I heartily approve the appointment and would like to see official diplomatic relations between this country and the Holy See resumed. There has been no greater power for good in the history of the world than the papacy, and I believe it will be the one bulwark on which civilization will once again depend as it did in the days of Leo the Great.

Missoula, Mont. LLOYD SWANBERG.

[Mr. Swanberg is correct in saying that the published terms of the Lateran treaty do not include an explicit agreement on the part of the pope to break off diplomatic relations with any power with which Italy is at war. On the other hand, his citation of the agreement of the Italian state to permit "correspondence" to

come freely from all states, including belligerents, is of doubtful relevance, for two reasons: first, because "belligerents" might easily be interpreted as not including nations at war with Italy; second, because the receiving of correspondence is not equivalent to the maintenance of two-way diplomatic relations. "Romulus" made his statement a little too specific. It was, however, well known to all correspondents in Rome at the time when the treaty was being negotiated that one point upon which the state was especially insistent was that the Vatican should be eliminated from the field of political diplomacy. This was stressed by the state as strongly as the pope stressed the necessity of having complete freedom for the exercise of his spiritual functions. The particular paragraph in which the detachment of the Vatican from international politics is expressed is Article 24, which declares that "the Holy See . . . will remain extraneous to all temporal competitions between states and to international congresses held for such objects. . . ."—THE EDITORS.]

Corrected Statistics

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your issue of May 1 your New York correspondent gives a very incorrect picture of the Newark Methodist conference, which was evidently taken from a garbled newspaper account of our recent annual conference. The net loss of 6,884 members, which he referred to, was not for the "past eight years" but for the years 1931-1939. The combined report of the district superintendents suggested reasons for the losses of that period. During the past year, however, the conference reported a gain of 1,956 in its active membership, the largest gain in any single year for the past 30 years, with the exception of 1916-1917, the years of the Billy Sunday influence in the Paterson campaign. In addition to the membership gain the conference reports showed gains in every phase of the work for the year 1939-1940.

The other statistics mentioned by your correspondent, referring to pastors' salaries, money raised, etc., was for one of three districts, and not for the conference.

Morristown, N. J. PARKER B. HOLLOWAY,
District Superintendent.

Mr. Viton's Disloyalty

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Only an enemy of England could write such an article as "India, A Study in Imperialism." It is vicious and untimely.

Mr. Viton must have relied on his readers' credulity and probable lack of knowledge about India in order to present his own very biased personal opinions. He makes a misstatement in nearly every paragraph. "India," he says, "was a country of small peasant holdings and flourishing cottage industries before the British came." India was not a country of small peasant holdings and flourishing cottage industries before the British came. India for centuries previous to the East India Company was torn with strife. There were wars and bitter internal conflicts. The states were in a constantly shifting condition, and never at any time was there any feeling of security or that peaceful prosperity he implies.

Since the days of Warren Hastings there has been marked progress in India. British rule has brought factories, railroads, hospitals, law, Western courts, cities, schools, universities and trade. "The British have simply not been interested in raising the cultural level of India's masses, or the introduction of a scientific civilization," says Mr. Viton. One wonders what methods he would have employed to arrive at perfection in less than a hundred years. (It was not until 1874 that Queen Victoria was made Empress of India.) The country is enormous, with a population of 300,000,000. Of these, 50,000,000 are "untouchables."

However, my indignation is not aimed at Mr. Viton's inaccuracies. Few people know much about "Mother India," and one suspects a good deal of wishful thinking behind his grave prognostications. No, it is his disloyalty, his unchristian attitude towards the only decent country, with the exception of France and the small neutrals, we have left to us as friends and neighbors. Had India been ruled by any other Western nation, Gandhi would today not be a great man but a dead body.

Hanford, Calif. IRENE WOODGATES.

Seek Support for Youth Act

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: On April 23 at an official meeting of the Union Theological Seminary student body it was decided by a unanimous vote to send the following telegram to members of the Senate committee on education and labor: "Because of the enforced and involuntary unemployment of more than four million young Americans and because of the serious threat to the future of America and its cherished democratic institutions unless the idle hands, minds and talents of young America are put to work, we, the students of Union Theological Seminary, urge that hearings be held immediately on the American Youth Act, S. 3170, and that it be acted on favorably in this session of Congress."

In times like these, with international problems so much on our minds, it is easy to forget the pressing problems at home. One such pressing problem demanding our concern and action is the vast multitude of frustrated, unemployed youth. The American Youth act proposes to meet this urgent situation better than any other concrete proposal we have yet seen. It is therefore heartening to note the support which students of Union Theological Seminary are giving it. May we hope that this action expresses a concern shared by other Christian groups in this country?

New York, N. Y. ROBERT B. BIRGE.

Confused Quotation

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial on "Tolerance Misapplied" you accuse those of us who differ from you of "confused thinking." The sleek and consistent conceit which for years has enabled you to charge everyone who does not applaud your view on nearly every debatable issue with confused thinking is a fearful thing to behold. Such clear vision and certitude leave us lesser men gasping.

You say that "to counsel tolerance is un-American, un-Protestant, undiscerning." I cannot understand why you do not go the whole way and brand tolerance as unchristian. Can it be that you know in your heart that it is Christian and so do not accuse us of being traitors to the Prince of Peace? Some of us choose to give our loyalty to him and to what seems to be his clear teaching on the ideal of human brotherhood. If that makes us undiscerning, un-Protestant, un-American, we still choose Christ and his peace as greater even than this desirable quality of mind and these precious inheritances. You have made your choice and no one should say you nay: but, why belittle and berate those who think they see still nobler values rising clear above the dusty quarrel you have done your best to stir up among those who should set an example of brotherly love and should cooperate to spread it over all the world?

I am sending a few copies of this letter to gentlemen who may feel that Christianity and Protestantism are not synonyms and that to think confusedly with Christ is more to be desired than to think clearly with the editor of The Christian Century.

The Second Church in Newton, BOYNTON MERRILL.
West Newton, Mass.

[Whether or not Dr. Merrill comes under our characterization of "confused thinking" in the matter of the Vatican ambassadorship, he surely exhibits "confused quotation" in respect to what The Christian Century said on the subject of tolerance. We did not say that "to counsel tolerance is un-American, un-Protestant, and undiscerning." Dr. Merrill has fallen into a grave error in quotation. We said: "To counsel tolerance *in the presence of this accomplished fact* is un-American," etc. This "accomplished fact" was the establishment of an ambassadorship to the Vatican. Two-thirds of the editorial from which Dr. Merrill purports to quote is an argument against intolerance and a plea for the exercise of tolerance. "Tolerance," we said, "is the only principle which will make . . . freedom tolerable." If Dr. Merrill can write a more

drastic condemnation of intolerance than that editorial contains, we will be glad to publish it as an editorial to express any shred of sentiment which our own strong words left inarticulate.—THE EDITORS.]

Our Surrender to Popery!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Many of your friends are sorry to note a complete surrender to popery in your editorial, "Tolerance Misapplied," in the issue of May 1. Although the greater part of the editorial is followed by truthful statements along the right line, the value of the editorial is destroyed by the cringing attitude toward the papal system, the scourge of the centuries.

I beseech you as God-fearing men to continue to be fearless in opposing any attempts that may be made to make the papacy a ruling power in this our beloved country, the government of which was founded upon Protestant principles. You will gain nothing by cringing to popery. The more this is done, the bolder the agents of the Vatican will become. So now, while you have the opportunity, be not derelict in defending the great heritage of freedom that is ours.

Alexandria, Va. CHARLES R. ANDERSON.

The Nazis Like Us Even Less

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Would it be possible in your paper once in a while to state a few kind and true things of the British empire? I am disturbed by the fact that a paper that bears the name Christian should become partial and one-sided. I have been a subscriber of your paper only since the beginning of the year but the tone of it has not only disappointed me but has positively alarmed me. I almost wonder at times if there is not some subtle nazi influence at work behind the publication of your articles. That may seem on the surface unlikely but nazism is exceedingly clever as indeed the Norwegians in Oslo have discovered.

Surely the British empire is not so evil and unprincipled and selfish as is insinuated sometimes in your paper. It may be true that our past has not always been creditable but neither is America's treatment of the Negroes or of its industrial workers creditable either. Sherwood Eddy, a distinguished American, insists that there is more democracy in Great Britain than in America.

Occasionally we hear remarks about "striking a man when he is down." British people do not admire that. Britain is being severely tried these days and a Christian paper should not seize every opportunity to strike her.

Nanton, Alta. CHARLES S. PINDER.

From a Catholic Reader

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As a Catholic reader of The Christian Century, may I offer a few thoughts relative to Mr. Taylor's recent appointment? It seems to me that you are concerned not so much with the great religious crisis but chiefly with the appointment of Mr. Taylor by President Roosevelt. I have read your editorials with care and interest. They are, of course, extremely well written and apparently closely reasoned and, in the issue of April 24, you arrive at the following conclusion: "To consent to the official relationship which the President has established with the Roman Church is to consent to a principle whose development spells ultimately the Catholicizing of American culture."

I can understand why a Protestant who believes that would be fired to even greater activity than the lighting-up of the imagination, which you suggest, but must a Protestant accept your conclusion? I am impelled to ask a question: Are there any non-Catholic nations who have had diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and if so have these relations resulted in the Catholicizing of their national cultures? This question invites a clear answer; it does not depend on mere opinion; it is based on an easily observable fact. For instance, let us consider England, surely a country of robust Protestantism. England has long had diplomatic relations with the Vatican. No government in England whether Labor, Liberal or Conservative has been fearful of the dire consequences you so dolefully predict. It is difficult to see how you can continue to maintain this particular thesis that Mr. Taylor's appointment spells the Catholicization of American culture.

In the same editorial you say that the purpose of our American Constitution is that no form of religion should receive special recognition, but the question here is not recognition of a religion—it is the recognition of a fact. Facts are stubborn things, often unwelcome, and this particular fact is that 400 years after the Reformation the old mother church of Christendom is still in a unique position, vital in her unity, world-wide in extent. "Doomed to death but fated not to die," as John Dryden describes her.

Milford, N. H. E. F. QUIRK.

[Our correspondent overlooks the vital portion of the sentence quoted, "a principle *whose development*." In the case of Great Britain which he cites, three points should be noted: (1) Britain already has a state church, and British culture has long been molded by it; (2) nonconformist churches stand in a position of enormous and pathetic disadvantage in British life, compelled as they are to work in the shadow of the state church; (3) the British minister to the Vatican was sent during the last war, as an emergency measure, and has been allowed to continue chiefly because there is neither law nor tradition, as there is in the United States, against official connection of church and state. British experience thus affords an additional reason why Americans should oppose the wartime appointment of an American ambassador to the Vatican. Unless it is opposed now, it is not likely ever to be opposed.—THE EDITORS.]

Magnificent But Not Politics

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I often find myself in disagreement with the positions taken by your paper, of which nonetheless I am a constant reader. All the more I am impelled to say to you that in the matter of your protest against the unconstitutional act of the President in naming an emissary to the pope with the rank of ambassador, you are absolutely and unquestionably right. The thoughtful people of my acquaintance recognize this to be the case.

The question instantly arises, Why the silence of the Senate, a body keenly alert in asserting its prerogatives? To ask that question is of course to know the answer. The senators are all politicians, and there is no one of them who has not a large and highly sensitive element in his constituency which he naturally does not care to antagonize. The truth is, President Roosevelt has by this *fait accompli* taken a step from which every line of retreat is blocked by a political impasse.

That is the situation you are up against, Mr. Editor. For the moment all the cards are stacked against you. But the time will come, quite soon if I mistake not, when with another incumbent in the White House it will be recognized, by common consent and without raising an unhappy sectarian issue, that this representation at the Vatican must be treated as temporary and as a mistake of which the less said the better. It will go the way of Theodore Roosevelt's attempt to remove "In God we trust" from the dollar.

In other words, while you are perfectly correct in theory, the practical wisdom of the course you have urged is open to considerable question. A boy going to market with several eggs in his basket had better think twice before getting into a fight. In your own case one of your most precious eggs is the reunion of Christendom. There would not be much left of that egg if the Protestant bodies were to take your advice and rise up as one man on this particular issue. On the whole I am not at all sorry that Protestants are so loosely organized as not to be ready to fight at the drop of the hat. Our cause is not so precarious that it will be jeopardized by a little patience over what will soon be seen by everybody to have been an act of impulse and of indiscretion. All the same, I am glad you did not keep silence.

Palo Alto, Calif. WILLARD BROWN THORP.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Would Unite Free English Churches

Evangelical Free Council Takes Steps Toward Merger—Radio Serves Religion—Hugh Walpole on Faith

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, April 25.—The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches held its annual meetings in London last week. Its numbers were reduced but it did useful work in preparing for fusion with the Federal Council of the Free Churches. The prime minister took time to address the assembly briefly. He emphasized what Lord Halifax had said about this war, that it was part of the eternal struggle of right against wrong. "If the nazis were to triumph," he said, "every fortress which has been built by civilization upon the principles of Christianity would go down." He appealed to the free churches, "whose mission it is to uphold and exalt the spiritual life of this country, to give us your aid and to crush the power of tyranny and wickedness forever."

* * *

Declares Belief Must Focus War Issue

In a striking article in *Time and Tide,* Malcolm Muggeridge contends that a war must crystallize, that a complicated antagonism must focus on an issue. The only issue capable of thus focusing antagonism is one concerned with belief. A nation without a religion, Mr. Muggeridge asserts, cannot go to war but only pretend to: the question we are called upon to answer is whether we are Christians and the nazis pagans, or whether we are alike pagans, though of different brands, with nothing to fight about except power and wealth. It is a serious question. Is the issue really joined? I believe that Lord Halifax speaks for the nation.

* * *

Novelist Gives Reasons For Faith

Hugh Walpole, in *Roman Fountain,* gives as the first of three reasons for faith the personality and character of Jesus Christ. He writes: "I didn't know about his divinity but I did know increasingly through my life that had I never been told a word about him and had chanced upon the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the sayings and the parables, his tenderness to little children and all the lost, his anger and indignation, the details of the Last Supper and the crucifixion, I would have cried out: 'Here is a man like no other man who has ever been, and in realizing him I go beyond all earthly, physical things into the world of the Spirit. If he is true then the life of the Spirit is true.'"

* * *

Radio Offers Many Religious Talks

During May radio listeners will be able to take part in a service of Christian unity in which an Indian, a Chinese and a Japanese will participate. They will hear Canon Cockin answer an ex-service man's questions on prayer in wartime. There will also be a united missionary service, and a sermon by Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of City Temple. "What Do You Reverence?" and "Things That Can't Be Destroyed" are to be discussed by Rev. F. Townley Lord, and two other talks to the services will be given by Father Martindale. The series, "A Christian Looks at the World," will end with two talks by Sir Walter Moberly and a summing up by Middleton Murry, who began the series.

* * *

Lloyd George After 50 Years

Fifty years ago, on April 10, 1890, a young Welsh solicitor took in Parliament the seat for Carnarvon which he still holds. No statesman has had more love and more hatred than David Lloyd George. He has taken part in every important political issue during this half-century. Today there is a kindly feeling toward the veteran, but it is a mistake to think of him as a spent force. He can still lay about him as in earlier days, and he can still fill any hall in the country. He has always remained a free churchman. The inspiration of his uncle, who was a lay preacher in the Church of Christ at Criccieth, seems to have rested upon his career.

* * *

And So Forth

That women should not have a part in the public teaching of the church is settled for Lord Hugh Cecil by St. Paul. But H. G. Wood answers him: in First Corinthians it is clear that Paul objected to their teaching only if they were unveiled; and what modern scholar dares rest his case for the mind of Paul on First Timothy?

Father Woodlock, S. J., who died recently, was perhaps England's leading Catholic spokesman in controversy. He was uncompromising in argument but an extremely kind and friendly man.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher died April 17 as the result of an accident met with when he was on his way to a meeting of the tribunal which hears appeals of c.o.'s. He had a career of distinction as a historian and as minister of education.

John Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln," first presented during the last war, has been revived on the London stage. It should be a tract for these times as it was a tract for those times. Certainly it leaves upon us the sense that magnanimity in statesmen is a supreme virtue.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Dr. Finkelstein Succeeds Dr. Adler as Seminary Head

The election of Dr. Louis Finkelstein to the presidency of the Jewish Theological Seminary, succeeding the late Dr. Cyrus Adler, is announced by the seminary's board of directors. Dr. Finkelstein, who has been provost of the seminary since 1937, will assume his new task in October. In the interim he will serve as acting president.

Oregon Provides Religious Study

State Finances Departments of Religion in Its University and Colleges—Welcome to New Americans

(Correspondence from Oregon)

PORTLAND, May 1.—Significant is the place of religion in Oregon's institutions of higher education, attended by nearly 10,000 students. By recent action of the state board of higher education, departments of religion in both the university at Eugene and the college at Corvallis are to receive their entire support from public funds. Formerly the department at the college, ably conducted for many years by Dr. E. W. Warrington (Presbyterian), was maintained through private subscription. With the opening of a department of religion in the university last fall, led by Dr. J. R. Branton (Baptist), the board of education adopted the present policy of financing with state funds. Provision has also been made for departments of religion in the three state teachers' colleges.

* * *

Moral Rearmament Luncheons Unite Three Cities

Portland, Seattle and San Francisco recently held simultaneous Moral Rearmament luncheons, addresses at each gathering being heard by the others through a coast-wide broadcast. Mayors of the three cities, prominent social and civic lights of the Pacific coast, as well as M.R.A. delegates from Europe, gave witness to their faith and prophesied as to what M.R.A. will accomplish in uniting the nation for the solution of labor problems and for leadership in world peace. Strong emphasis was given the necessity of beginning with the personal life and the acceptance of "absolute standards" for home, office, city and state. Over 200 persons attended the Portland luncheon, only four of whom were clergymen.

* * *

Commercial Club Fetes Clergymen

"Bring Your Pastor Day" established a new vogue in commercial club programs when Portland's East Side Club entertained 100 clergymen at a recent weekly luncheon. The mayor of the city presided and Judge James W. Crawford preached a sermon to the assembled ministers, priests and rabbis, declaring the opportunity before the church never greater than in these abnormal times and challenging the religious leadership of the city to match the demands of the hour.

* * *

New Americans Given Welcome

The 19th annual reception for new citizens, sponsored by the Portland Americanization Council, welcomed 1,400 persons who had been naturalized in this district during the past year. The municipal auditorium was crowded to capacity. The

"class," largest in two decades, was welcomed with imposing ceremonies. Talks were given by city and state notables, including the governor. The address of the evening, "Thank God I Am an American," was given by Thomas A. Verdenius, one of Portland's church and civic leaders and himself a naturalized citizen.

* * *

Pacific University Loses President

The resignation of Dr. John F. Dobbs as president of Pacific University, Forest Grove, will become effective July 1. Dr. Dobbs has served for 15 years, guiding the institution through a most difficult period, and he leaves it with the largest enrollment of its history, academic standing advanced, buildings and campus greatly improved and endowment materially increased. Dr. Dobbs feels that a younger man should now assume the leadership of this pioneer Congregational college. As president emeritus, he will become financial representative of the school in the east.

* * *

Church Abandons Its Downtown Mission

Adjusting itself to the conditions of a new day, First Presbyterian Church has abandoned its famous downtown Portland mission known as the "Men's Resort" which for nearly 45 years has carried a program of social and spiritual ministry to transients, especially seamen and lumber camp laborers. Reasons: social and economic changes, together with federal, state and county programs of relief for needy men have greatly restricted the mission constituency as well as curtailing needs for its service; moreover, the district is abundantly supplied with missions specializing in religious work. Liquidating its valuable mission property, First Church is investing its funds in the northwest end of Portland, establishing a social settlement in this densely populated and underprivileged area. Special emphasis will be given a youth program. Rev. W. W. Gearhart has been added to the staff and will have supervision of the new project which will be known as "Friendly House."

* * *

Educator Refused Use of School Auditorium

Dr. George S. Counts, professor in Columbia University and national president of the American Federation of Teachers, was recently denied the privilege of addressing a teachers' meeting in a Portland public school auditorium. Inspired by opposition in Seattle, where a faculty committee forbade Dr. Counts the use of state university rooms, a few vociferous citizens of Portland applied pressure to school authorities who promptly canceled Dr. Counts' scheduled meeting. Reed College immediately offered its facilities and the Columbia professor addressed two capacity crowds. Dr. Counts declared that "democracy is the greatest social faith and the most audacious, too . . . a confidence that the human mind can be trusted."

* * *

Regional Adult Conference

The International Council of Religious Education's first adult conference for the Pacific northwest is to be held on the campus of Pacific University, Forest Grove, on June 3-9.

RAYMOND B. WALKER.

Methodists Ask Taylor Recall

General Conference Urges President to Cancel Vatican Appointment—Strong Peace Program Adopted

(Special Correspondence)

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 6.—Undoubtedly the most dramatic moment in the first General Conference of the united Methodist Church, which adjourned today, came with the adoption of the resolution condemning the appointment of Myron C. Taylor as ambassador to the Vatican, and calling on President Roosevelt to recall him. Strong action of some sort had been forecast from the moment when the conference burst into a storm of applause at the passage in the bishops' opening address which condemned the appointment. But it had been doubted whether the delegates would go to the length of demanding that the President bring his ambassadorial representative home. When the matter came before the conference, however, it showed itself in no mood to be satisfied with halfway measures. It believed the issue of separation of church and state at stake, and that the importance of that issue justified drastic action.

The conference did not adopt its resolution asking for Mr. Taylor's recall until after it had been subjected to vigorous attack. Dr. Harold Paul Sloan, editor of the New York edition of the *Christian Advocate,* who moved to strike out the recall section of the resolution, defended a Vatican embassy as in line with historic American precedent and sought to minimize the church and state issue by declaring that separation of the two can never be more than proximate. Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, dean of Drew University, warned that adoption of the resolution would "inaugurate a new era of religious hatred" and prove the new church parochial in outlook.

Dean Hough Opposes Resolution

"It is quite all right," said Dr. Hough, "for a little denomination of 200,000 to crow like a chanticleer, self-conscious in its enthusiasms, but a church with the history of our church, a church with the numbers we possess, owes it to the American republic, owes it to the world, owes it to Christendom, to achieve the larger vanity of the grand style, to be incapable of an unworthy parochialism, to be incapable of marking the union of Methodism by inaugurating a new era of religious hatred."

The speech which had most effect, however, was undoubtedly that made by Rev. Edmund Heinsohn of Austin, Tex. "It isn't an easy matter to be a responsible partner of the universal church," he admitted. "We are facing some issues which we would like to avoid facing, but issues nevertheless that we need to face, and we are dealing with an issue now that has not been created by our group, but an issue that we dare not evade." Dealing with the matter of historical precedent by showing that while the United States had once had an embassy to the Papal State "we have never had an ambassador in our entire history to the papacy as a church," Mr. Heinsohn went on to outline the status accorded Mr. Taylor at the Vatican.

"If our Roman Catholic friends want this kind of arrangement," he declared, "then we must sharply but sincerely differ with them in that desire. If, on the other hand, our Roman Catholic friends are not responsible for this arrangement, then we should help them to see to it that they are not unjustly blamed. . . . The longer this thing continues the more embarrassing it will become. It will be exceedingly embarrassing to Mr. Roosevelt's successor."

Resolution Adopted

By a count vote of 393 to 234, with most foreign delegates refraining from voting, the attempt to delete the demand for Mr. Taylor's recall from the resolution was voted down. The original resolution, as presented for the committee on interdenominational relations by its chairman, Dr. J. W. Moore of Newport News, Va., was then adopted with only a few votes recorded in the negative. The resolution reads:

"The Bill of Rights, which guarantees freedom of religion, assembly, press, speech and other liberties, is an essential part of the Constitution of the United States. Without it this union of independent sovereign states could not have been formed. These principles must ever be held sacred and inviolate by a liberty-loving people. It is our firm belief that their preservation can be accomplished only by maintaining the complete separation of church and state. On this matter we endorse the following statement contained in the address of the council of bishops:

" 'We express our sincere appreciation of the oft-declared interest of the President of the United States on behalf of world peace and especially his frequent emphasis upon the social and religious foundations of peace, and we are ready to join with the Roman Catholic Church and with all other religious or secular organizations to promote world peace; but we do deplore and must firmly resist any union of church and state, and are and will be unalterably opposed to any establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the United States.'

"We therefore respectfully but with genuine earnestness urge our president to recall Mr. Myron C. Taylor. His appointment has created a spirit of uneasiness and resentment in the minds of a great number of people and instead of promoting peace has engendered discord and strife, which seems calamitous at this time when there is imperative need for harmonious united action on the part of all those who fear God and love righteousness."

Strong as the conference thus proved in its defense of separation of church and state with regard to the Vatican embassy, it did not prove equally responsive when the same issue was raised by a minority report seeking to withdraw Methodist chaplains in the army and navy from incorporation in the armed forces and to place them entirely under church control, with salaries paid by the church. Perhaps the item of expense involved looked a little too formidable to a conference already wondering where the money was coming from to pay its own expenses.

During the closing sessions, committee reports and resolutions were rushed through the conference at such a pace that little debate occurred. The report of the com-

mittee on the state of the church in favor of extension of the government's present moral embargo to stop all exports of war materials to aggressor nations did, however, bring a sharp protest from missionary delegates from China. A speech by the committee's chairman, Dr. Ernest F. Tittle of Evanston, Ill., pointing to the ultimate ill effects for China, as well as the United States, which might follow imposition of a legal embargo, brought adoption of the committee report by an overwhelming vote.

Similarly, the attempt of a minority in the committee on the state of the church to drop from that committee's report four paragraphs in the statement on peace, also failed. The paragraphs which the conference endorsed called for the surrender of absolute national sovereignty over such matters as tariffs, immigration and currency; endorsed the recommendations of the Washington conference on world economic cooperation; recommended extension of the mandate system of colonial government under "some international body," and called for universal disarmament.

Position on Peace

The official position adopted by the denomination on the peace issue declares: "We stand upon this ground: The Methodist Church, although making no attempt to bind the consciences of its individual members, will not officially endorse, support or participate in war. We insist that the agencies of the church shall not be used in preparation for war, but in the promulgation of peace. We insist that the buildings of the church dedicated to the worship of God shall be used for that holy purpose, and not by any agency for the promotion of war."

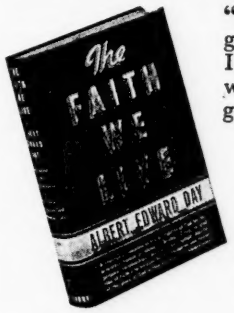
The conference also pledged the support of the church to its conscientious objectors and recommended that the Federal Council of Churches form a committee "through which Protestant denominations that desire to do so may officially represent the interests of their conscientious objectors before the government of the United States." In addition, the Federal Council was asked to "seek a method by which the spiritual ministry of the churches to the armed forces of the United States may be performed by ministers appointed and supported by, and amenable to, the church."

Two actions which passed the conference with little debate carried great meaning to Methodist theories of church administration. The first set under motion the process by which the annual conferences may strike out the words "ordination or" in the order of service for the consecration of a Methodist bishop. No one seems to know how the *Book of Discipline* came to provide for the "ordination or consecration" of bishops in the first place. Under Methodist law, bishops are simply elders chosen from their equals to an administrative office which does not constitute a superior order of clergy. Scarcely any votes were cast against an action which will make this status clear beyond dispute.

A second vote outlawed the so-called "closed cabinet" sessions which have been held in certain annual conferences. In the future, Methodist ministers who are to be moved must, so far as is humanly possible, be consulted in advance by their district superintendents. This change is expected to take secrecy out of pastoral appointments.

P. H.

•Cokesbury Good Books•



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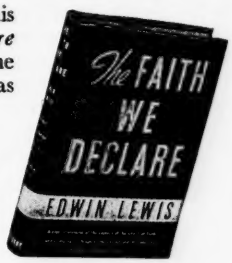

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Chicago Mourns Bishop Stewart

Heart Attack Takes Distinguished Prelate While Driving to Church—St. Luke's a Monument to His Leadership

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, May 6.—A man of power was lost to Chicago and the Christian church when George Craig Stewart, bishop of the Chicago Episcopal diocese, died. His death occurred, as the result of a heart attack, last Thursday evening, while he was driving to the Church of the Incarnation, 102nd street and Parnell avenue, to address a confirmation class. His passing was, as he probably would have wished it, while he was still at work. Certainly he made his choice deliberately. Two years ago he was stricken with a severe heart attack and, after some weeks in the hospital, was compelled to rest for a time. Rev. Edwin J. Randall was elected suffragan bishop of the diocese to relieve Bishop Stewart of certain of his administrative tasks. He was cautioned to lighten his load. But before long he seemed to be working as hard as ever. If he was relieved of some responsibilities he took on others. He was preaching and speaking continually, attending numerous committee meetings, administering the affairs of his diocese, and giving much time to the promotion of three of his major interests: work with youth, education and church unity.

* * *

From Newspaper Boy to Bishop

There was something of the Horatio Alger motif in Bishop Stewart's career. He was born in Saginaw, Mich., of Scottish parents, and at the age of 14 came to Chicago where he went to work first as a newspaper boy and later as bell boy in a Loop hotel. But his exceptional promise was early recognized. Encouraged by Methodist leaders he worked his way through high school and Northwestern University, graduating from the latter institution in 1902. While studying in Northwestern he served as pastor of the Calumet Heights and St. Stephen's Methodist Episcopal churches, and it was while serving the latter church that he decided to enter the Episcopal ministry. He was ordained in 1903. Soon after, he was called to the rectorship of St. Luke's Church, Evanston, which, under his leadership, grew from a struggling church of less than 200 members to the largest Episcopal parish in the west, with a membership of over 3,000. In February, 1930, he was elected bishop coadjutor of the diocese of Chicago, and automatically succeeded to the bishopric upon the death of Rt. Rev. Sheldon M. Griswold. St. Luke's Church became the pro-cathedral of the diocese, and the "war cloister" of the church was built as a memorial to the American soldiers in France, with whom Bishop Stewart served as chaplain.

Bishop Stewart was the author of half a dozen books, the recipient of several honorary degrees, and was undoubtedly one of the great preachers of America. He was a man of indomitable will and great energy and was single-minded in his devotion to the cause of religion and the church.

* * *

An Enthusiastic Advocate Of Church Unity

The cause of church unity enlisted Bishop Stewart's wholehearted support. But he was little interested in the federation principle. He was a high churchman, and saw the role of the Episcopal Church as mediator between Protestantism and Catholicism. He gave years of service to the World Conference on Faith and Order, and the goal he envisioned was no loose federation of churches but the organic unity of the Christian church as the sacramental body of Christ. I once saw the bishop become highly indignant. It was at a dinner meeting in the Drake hotel where he was to welcome an "Oxford Group" visiting team. Someone had referred to that organization as "the Oxford Movement." Bishop Stewart did not take long in telling his hearers very incisively just what that catholic movement in the Anglican church was, and he made it clear that the group assembled in the Drake ballroom that evening did not even remotely resemble it.

* * *

Milk Strike Is Ended

A two-day strike by the milk wagon drivers' union, which not only deprived the community of this necessary commodity, but began to show a tendency toward violence, and cost the farmers $120,000 and the drivers and inside dairy workers approximately $50,000 daily, has been settled with agreement to negotiate, and, if negotiation fails, to set up boards of arbitration. The Associated Milk Dealers had ordered a cut in the $48 weekly base wage and the drivers refused to accept it.

The problem is really larger than that, and is symptomatic of the difficulty of adjustment to changing economic conditions. The number of men and the equipment required for the delivery of milk have been greatly reduced by the increase of milk purchases in stores at lower prices. But vested interests in the form of jobs and equipment are threatened, and undoubtedly a radical adjustment to the actual demand for deliveries would throw many men out of work and involve loss of investment.

* * *

Chicago Youth in 'March for Jobs'

The Chicago office of the American Youth Congress announces a "march for jobs" to Springfield, May 25-26, with meetings and conferences in the Home Economics Building of the Illinois state fair. Interfaith religious services are included in the program. The program, advocated to secure more jobs for youth, is as follows: (1) Pass the American Youth Act, which would require that Congress appropriate $500,000,000 annually to provide work and educational opportunity for youth; (2) increased national funds for NYA, CCC, WPA, and additional state appropriation for relief; (3) a state NYA appropriation equal to the national appropriation; (4) an Illinois youth commission, representative of government, labor and youth; (5) more free state scholarships; (6) government loans to young farmers; (7) adequate pensions for the aged to free more jobs for the young; (8) revision of the general tax structure.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Prohibition Party Shapes Platform

Calls on Church People to Unite on Moral Issues—Presidential Primaries Poll Few Votes—Church Meetings

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, May 1.—Roger W. Babson has long deplored the fact that church people divide among the parties when they go to the polls. He is now announced as the probable candidate of the Prohibition party for the presidency. The party's name cannot be changed, he says, without loss of the place which it has on the ballot in 30 states. But its policy can be broadened. He has suggested, and the executive committee has prepared, a platform to be submitted at the Chicago convention. One "plank" states: "We have a tradition of 70 years of righteous activity. On that foundation we have decided to build and enlarge our concept of what our name means. It means that we are against not only liquor but *all* that undermines character. We are the one party which has learned from sad experience that legislation alone, whether Old or New Deal, is insufficient." The third "plank" asserts "the need of spiritual awakening." If applied, it will "eliminate unemployment and assure equal opportunities for all." The fourth admits that "the major parties are performing useful service, but entangling alliances make it difficult for them to take a stand on moral issues. There must, therefore, be a union of church people and others who stand for righteousness, in a third party. The *new* Prohibition party serves such a purpose."

* * *

Few Voters Come Out for Presidential Primaries

But the presidential primaries on Tuesday threw cold water on the hope that "good people" will save society. "Uncle Dudley" in the *Boston Globe* comments scathingly: "Among the Republicans, the 74,000 obtained by the leaders on the two rival tickets was less than one-tenth of the vote polled by their candidate in a losing year. It was a miserable showing. But the Democrats polled even a smaller proportion of their total strength. . . . When primaries turn out to be so lifeless, it seems time for democracy to take stock of itself." Do less than one-tenth of our voters retain the virtue of civic responsibility?

* * *

Evangelicals Call for More 'Shepherding'

The New York synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church met in Christ Church, Jamaica Plains, April 15-17. Of its 28 churches, only three are in New England. Its German origin made the more significant its meeting here this spring. The president, Rev. E. A. Lautenschlager, said in his report: "The church is the one and only spirit which stands against the forces which retard progress—the antidote for the world's venom!" Rev. George Richards, in a tender address, redefined the Bible: "It is the record of men called of God to lead his people. The Old Testament is the acorn; the New, the oak. It is more than

law book, moral code or history. Therein God speaks his heart! It rings with 'joy in this present evil world.' Shun not to declare 'the whole counsel of God.' Thunder judgment to the nations! The individual and social are the two sides of the gospel. War may come, but in Him we have peace. Men of good will will create the new social order. A pope has rightly urged the clergy not to let administration overshadow their work as shepherds. Be ringers of doorbells! To be leaders, first be followers of Christ. Like him, make every soul feel, 'I am nothing less than a child of God.'" President W. R. Leslie brought the greeting of the city and state councils of churches, with which the pastor of Christ Church, Rev. F. W. Engleman, keeps the church in close touch.

* * *

Congregationalists Also 'Deepening Fellowship'

On the closing day of the synod, the Suffolk North association of Congregational churches met in Somerville. At the opening, Dr. Raymond Calkins struck a similar note: "The saints (all true Christians) shall judge (manage) the earth! Their only talent may be goodness; but 'no man can number' them. They preserve and create ideals. Only a few names survive; but they are the only hope of this mad world!" Prof. Herbert Gezork, Baptist exile from Germany, closed the program. "Nazism," he said, "is a new religion. Youth cry, 'Hitler is our savior!' When you look into their burning eyes, you see that their faith means more to them than Christianity means to most of us. German churches, even the small Baptist and Methodist minority, while free to worship are tempted to depict Jesus as a soldier with the whip of cords. It is the old conflict between Christ and Caesar. But persecution will fail. On my last night in the fatherland, my despair lifted when I heard from a little church: 'A mighty fortress is our God!'" People of all the Congregational churches of Greater Boston met on April 22 to seek a "Deepening Fellowship," and Dr. James Gordon Gilkey, of Springfield, inspired them with the ringing message: "Be proud of your church!"

* * *

Foes of Death Penalty Renew Appeal

The right method of leavening society with new ideals was illustrated on April 30 by advocates of the abolition of the death penalty. The governor and the mayor were invited to the luncheon and sent representatives who spoke for them, admitting interest in the problem. Speaker Christian A. Herter, of the House of Representatives, went further in favoring the bill to give juries the option of life imprisonment. Herbert B. Parsons, presiding, referred to the "candidates for conversion" at the head table. The necessity of other reforms, like wiser treatment of first offenders, was recognized. The great evil was shown to be the general disregard of human life in war and economic conditions. Does not the law, "Thou shalt not kill!" apply also to the state? Austin H. MacCormick, New York commissioner of correction, appealed not to sentimentality but to the interests of society. The best deterrent, he declared, is not severity but certainty of punishment. Juries are increasingly reluctant to convict when it means death.

E. Tallmadge Root.

Fears 'Hate' Move Against Catholics

National Conference Leader Sees New Perils to Minority Groups— Negro 'Y' Leader Dies

(Correspondence from New York)

New York, May 6.—A warning that Catholics may be the next victims of a hate-inspired propaganda attack was made Sunday morning at the Hotel Astor by Reginald T. Kennedy, New York secretary of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, in addressing a Catholic Church communion breakfast. He gave this warning to his Catholic listeners: "Propagandists of hate attack minority groups in order to create a social disunity that will furnish them with an opportunity to force their program on a weakened nation. . . . There is no majority group in the United States. Even Protestantism, which is loosely classed as a majority, is itself made up of numerous denominations and groups of many shades of opinion. . . . The weakest minorities are the first line of defense to our democratic society. . . . Catholics can counteract this wave of hate and make a major contribution to the preservation of our democracy. By increasing their participation in movements that seek to promote amity, justice, peace and understanding they can, first, aid the beleagured minorities already under attack and, second, through educational processes, eliminate the misunderstandings about their beliefs that the majority now entertain."

* * *

Dr. Moorland, Negro 'Y' Leader, Passes

One of the most prominent and honored Negro leaders in the metropolitan area, Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, passed away last week in his 77th year. Dr. Moorland was a graduate and trustee of Howard University and the Negro secretary of the international committee of the Y.M.C.A. from 1902 to 1924. During this period he was responsible for the building of 14 Negro Y.M.C.A. buildings in Washington, Chicago, Brooklyn and other great American cities.

* * *

Noted Choirmaster in 60th Anniversary

The 60th anniversary of Raymond H. Woodman as choirmaster and organist at the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, was celebrated Sunday. The choirs of the Church of the Savior, Unitarian, and the Church of the Holy Trinity, Episcopal, joined with the First Church choir in a special evening service. The prelude was played by Mr. Woodman from his latest suite for the organ, "Eternal God." A number of other compositions and hymns by Dr. Woodman were played during the service.

* * *

New York Church Women Meet

The May luncheon of the Church Women of New York City was held at the Hotel Roosevelt on Friday. Over 800 women from every denomination in the

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The Federal Council Bulletin says, "The President of Boston University has made an arresting contribution to true Americanism in this little book, reviewing the seven great documents which are such a revelation of the genius of America that he calls them the American 'canon.'" Bishops, editors, educators, jurists and statesmen, among many others, have expressed deep admiration for this contribution to Americanism.

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Professor of Music in Boston University

Conductors of male choruses, glee clubs, and quartets will appreciate this book which supplies a long-felt need. There are hymns for all occasions of the Christian year—Advent and Nativity, Easter and Pentecost, Christmas Carols, and Memorial hymns. The new harmonizations bring out the beauty of the original melodies, which are left unaltered, and will arouse new interest in many of the standard hymns of the Church.

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city attended. Mrs. Norman Vincent Peale presided and introduced the 35 representative women from various denominational and church agencies in the city who sat at the speakers' table. Dr. Paul Harris, missionary of the Reformed Church in Arabia and known as the "desert doctor," gave a vivid description of his work and the conditions among the people and tribes of that country. Miss Ruth Rouse of London, world president of the Y.W.C.A., brought the women face to face with the European situation. Mrs. Robert W. Searle outlined the strength of the women in their various services throughout the city in local church, agency and federation activity.

* * *

May Day Parade Demands Peace and Jobs

More than 25,000 marchers took part in the annual May day parade up Fifth avenue last Wednesday. This year the committee in charge adopted the theme, "For Peace, Jobs, Civil Liberties." These were the notes emphasized in the banners that the various union groups carried. Following the banner that blazoned the theme came two large signs borne by members of the National Maritime Union which read: "Chamberlain Built Up Hitler; Defeat Them Both" and "Keep America Out of War." Earl Browder, leader of the Communist party, marched with the Communist delegation. The affair was carried on without disorder starting from Washington Square at 1:30 p.m. and the last contingent reaching Union Square at 9 in the evening.

* * *

Many Other Church Anniversaries

St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Manhattan, celebrated last Sunday the 40th anniversary of service of Rev. Nathan A. Seagle as its rector, and the 135th anniversary of its founding.

Rev. James Palmer, a member of the faculty of the Biblical Seminary for the last 18 years, observed his golden jubilee in the ministry on Sunday. His career has been confined entirely to Manhattan.

The Gravesend Reformed Church chapel, Brooklyn, celebrated its centennial anniversary last Sunday. The chapel is maintained by the Gravesend Church, which has just celebrated its 285th anniversary.

The Arlington Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, celebrates this week the 50th anniversary of its founding. After working on the program for nearly two years Rev. John E. Flemming, the pastor, is unfortunately ill and confined to the Lutheran hospital.

The celebration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of South Reformed Church, Brooklyn, began at the Sunday morning service.

* * *

And So Forth

Rev. James Zwemer Nettinga was installed Sunday afternoon as pastor of the Eighty-Ninth Reformed Church, Manhattan, succeeding Dr. Edgar Tilton, Jr., who has served this church for over 40 years.

Mrs. Charles G. Keutgen of Brighton, S. I., was elected president of the New York League of Unitarian Women at the annual meeting Friday at the Flushing Unitarian Church, Queens. She succeeds Mrs. E. B. Hussey of Rutherford, N. J., who was elected a secretary.

J. Henry Carpenter.

Wets Repulsed In Mississippi

Governor's Opposition a Factor—Expose Another Racket—Ministers in Legislature Introduce Many Bills

(Correspondence from Mississippi)

Jackson, Miss., April 24.—All liquor legislation has been laid on the table in the committees of the state legislature. The wet sponsors of a bill to repeal prohibition succeeded in getting their bill substituted in a different committee, but they decided not to bring it out because they saw it would not pass, to say nothing of the governor's opposition to it. In return, they have kept the bill to prohibit beer (now outlawed in 45 of the 82 counties), the bill to forbid liquor advertising and similar dry bills from coming to the floor.

* * *

Episcopalians Raise Funds

The Episcopal diocese of Mississippi is conducting a campaign to raise an educational and missionary fund; $200,000 in quotas has been assigned the various churches. This is almost twice their annual income. Most of the money is to go to All Saints' Junior College at Vicksburg. The rest is for missions, with a small amount set for the Okolona Negro School. George Ward Stone of New York, a professional finance campaign manager, is in charge.

* * *

'Subsidizing Industry' A Racket

Numerous facts are being disclosed about the subsidization of industry in our state during the last administration. Thousands of dollars were being paid factory foremen as "teachers." Most of the alleged industries were just outposts of chain stores. The racket expires without regret, except from professional exploiters. A Corinth mill was "reorganized" by Pennsylvania capitalists, on the promise of labor being "accommodating."

* * *

Death Takes a Useful Christian Leader

An outstanding southern leader, A. W. Hamilton, died recently in Mississippi. A leader in social Christianity, he was widely known as a minister, lecturer, statesman, writer. He had been a missionary in India in charge of famine relief, a soldier in the Boer and World wars, a temperance leader in Great Britain, a pastor in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, an interdenominational preacher, decorated for relief work in Jugoslavia, a charter member of the American Legion and several times commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in North Carolina and South Carolina, a Kentucky colonel, a campaigner for both Roosevelts. He declined the Bromley seat in the British Parliament in 1920. He had been lecturing in Mississippi and southern states on international affairs for several years.

* * *

Lutheran Churches Increasing

Lutherans are making strenuous efforts to reclaim their scattered members in this area. Lutheran churches are very scarce, but almost every small town has a few Lutherans. Faithful members drive a hundred miles and back to attend services at the Jackson church. Their churches are increasing also, in an area where the largest Protestant group has been unknown even by name.

* * *

Minister-Legislators Are Active

A Lutheran legislator introduced a bill providing for a Roman Catholic as well as a Protestant chaplain at the state penitentiary. The five ministers in the legislature have been conspicuous in the headlines and on the floor. The Episcopal minister member—there are also two Baptist and two Primitive Baptist ministers—has introduced over 50 bills of which half a dozen have passed and a dozen more are on the calendar.

The problems of the state may be imagined from some of these bills—free schoolbooks, poll tax repeal, workmen's compensation, legalization of hitchhiking, forbidding corporal punishment for women, repealing the sales tax, putting governor on cars, forbidding out-of-state football scholarships, forbidding highway liquor selling, providing free medical care for poor children, making possession of a federal liquor license prima facie evidence of violation of state prohibition, forbidding liquor advertising, enforcing slot machine ban, etc.

Charles G. Hamilton.

Mrs. Roosevelt Receives *Nation* Award

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was selected by a national nominating committee of more than 100 leaders to receive the *Nation* award, which will hereafter be given annually, for distinguished service in the cause of social progress. The choice of Mrs. Roosevelt was based on the following citation: "For her helpful interest in the problems of young men and women and for her quiet, intelligent and dogged defense of democratic principles."

Dr. Kingdon Resigns from Newark U. Presidency

Dr. Frank Kingdon announces his resignation from the presidency of the University of Newark. He will devote his entire time to "educational work for the promotion of a higher appreciation and understanding of democracy." Dr. Kingdon has been on a leave of absence the past year.

'Americanization' Wins at University of Dubuque

The University of Dubuque, under the leadership of its president, Dr. Dale D. Welch, has been greatly interested in the "Christian Americanization" of the foreigner, and its achievements in this field have been outstanding. Dr. Welch writes of the recent three-day visit to the school of Rev. Pasquale R. DeCarlo, 78-year-old pastor emeritus of St. John Presbyterian Institutional Church of Chicago, who through many years has made a contribution toward the Christian Americanization of Italian immigrants. Dr. Welch has enthusiastic words of praise for this "gifted, adopted son of America" who he believes goes far to prove that "the so-called foreigner who has been properly Americanized may easily be a better citizen than the person who is born to the privileges of American citizenship."

Will Confer On Church Liberty

Emergency Conference on State and Church Issue Called to Assemble in National Capital Next Month

(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 7.—A special conference on religious liberty has been called to meet here June 11 by the "Emergency Committee in Behalf of Religious Liberty." Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, of the Foundry Methodist Church, is acting as chairman of the committee and Dr. Rufus W. Weaver, of the Baptist committee on public issues, as executive director. On the committee Bishop James E. Freeman, of the Episcopal Church, Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes, of the Methodist Church, and more than 50 Washington pastors are serving. The conference will discuss the taxing of churches in connection with social security legislation, the appropriation of tax-raised funds for sectarian purposes, the appointment of Myron C. Taylor as the President's personal representative with the rank of ambassador to the pope, the use of pressure and violence for the purpose of limiting religious liberty in social, economic and political realms of American life, and actions by our government, state and federal, that tend to violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the first amendment of the federal Constitution.

"This conference," says a statement sent out by the committee, "sponsored by more than 200 Christian ministers and Jewish rabbis residing in Washington, D. C., is called to define and to defend the religious liberty that undergirds all democratic institutions, and this call is made without prejudice toward any religious group and with good will to all men, whatever may be the views they hold. Any ordained minister of religion, who subscribes to the accompanying declarations, entitled the Principles of Religious Liberty, is invited to attend and to participate in this conference. Leading religious bodies are requested to send delegations, to be named at their coming annual meetings in May and June. Laymen will be enrolled, if they have been chosen to represent a religious body, committed to the promotion of the religious liberties of our people."

Seminars to be Held

"Seminars will be held, dealing with the following subjects: (1) Social Security: pending social security legislation, taxing churches, religious institutions and agencies. (2) Tax-Raised Funds: appropriations of tax-raised monies to sectarian institutions. (3) Vatican Envoy: the appointment of Myron C. Taylor, with the rank of ambassador, as the personal representative of President Roosevelt to the pope. (4) Chaplains: the ministry of chaplains in the employ of the government. (5) War: conscientious objectors. (6) Pressures: the economic, social and political pressures, arising out of religious intolerance, wherever it may be found, that limit the freedom of the individual, the press, and the action of legislative bodies. (7) Unification of Actions: the consideration and consolidation of resolutions, passed by the leading religious bodies at recent meetings. The conference will close with a mass meeting in Constitution Hall, to be addressed by outstanding leaders in the defense of religious liberty." Registration for the conference is already under way.

Principles Announced

The "Statement of the Principles of Religious Liberty" on which the conference is meeting reads:

"We believe that religious liberty is a God-given, ineradicable right, to be recognized and conserved by all human agencies that exercise authority.

"We believe that religious liberty is the enjoyment by the individual of the inalienable right to choose his religious affiliations, without coercion from any source whatever.

"We believe that religious liberty is the ultimate ground of democratic institutions, and that whenever this liberty is questioned, restricted or denied by any group, political, religious or philosophical, the friends of religious liberty should become greatly concerned.

"We believe in the complete separation of church and state, as set forth in the first amendment of the federal Constitution: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

"We believe that the recognition and the preservation of religious liberty by civil governments involve the acknowledgment through their constitution, written or unwritten, that religion, or the duty which every man owes to his Creator, does not come within the cognizance of the government.

"We believe that the time has come for all friends of religious liberty to consider that, within the past twenty-five years, one-fourth of the population of the whole world has come under the sway of dictators who either delimit or completely destroy the religious liberties of the people over whom they rule, and considering this alarming fact, the friends of religious liberty should unite in its defense.

"We believe that every friend of re-

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ligious liberty should exercise himself to the utmost in the maintenance of absolute religious liberty for his Jewish neighbor, his Roman Catholic neighbor, his Protestant neighbor and for everyone else. Profoundly convinced that any deprivation of this right is a wrong to be challenged, we condemn every form of compulsion in religion, whether it be exercised by a religious body or a civil state.

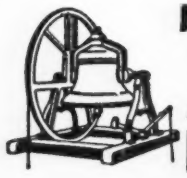
"We believe that the basic distinction between religious liberty and religious toleration must be clearly recognized; that the moral right to the full enjoyment of religious freedom can be consistently claimed only by those who repudiate religious coercion, and that the cultivation of a sentimental religious tolerance toward groups who within their own domain of authority deny to the individual his religious liberties should be condemned, because this tends toward the betrayal of a basic human right.

"We believe that subtle and powerful forces are now at work within our own country, threatening our democratic institutions; that the surest and most effective method for maintaining security is to strengthen the hands of the people of America in the God who has granted to every man the right to religious liberty, and therefore we call upon all who serve God, all who appreciate democratic institutions and all who desire to restrain authoritarian and totalitarian aggression wherever found, to join in the defense of religious liberty."

Full information concerning the conference can be obtained from the offices of the sponsoring committee, 715 Eighth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

National W.C.T.U. to Meet in Chicago

The annual convention of the National W.C.T.U. will meet in Chicago Aug. 9-14. Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, national president, expects this to be the largest convention in a decade because of the recent upsurge in temperance sentiment.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Japanese Woo Chinese Masses

Seeking War's End, Tokyo Makes Attractive Offers—Western Powers Seen as 'Ready to Jump'—Population Problem

(Correspondence from Japan)

TOKYO, April 10.—By promising to return all extraterritorial rights to the Chinese nation under the new "orthodox Kuomintang" government of Wang Ching-wei, and even to return to Chinese owners all industries and properties since the invasion under Japanese military control, the Tokyo authorities are endeavoring to ingratiate themselves with both the Chinese masses and Western interests. Tonight's radiocast features Wang Ching-wei calling upon China's national armies to lay down their arms, cease resisting Japan's military forces and thus end the war. It is a dramatic moment for China, the Far East and the world. Italy and Germany are obviously catering to Japanese favor; Russia is maintaining a noncommittal silence; Britain and France are on the fence ready to jump whichever way the imperial interests of the pound require. Only America frankly and firmly resists Japanese designs. Sentiments in Japan are hardening against American "moral embargo" and "naval maneuver" diplomacy.

* * *

The Future Still Uncertain

Economic conditions in Japan become ever more restricted, but more and more troops are in the streets and on the way to China, and on the way back in little white boxes. The end is clearly not yet, what the future holds in store for this nation none attempts to prophesy, and while there is less unity in political and social circles than in recent months, the only change this presages is in the direction of greater political and economic control. Nevertheless Isao Abe, 70-year-old father of Japanese baseball and of the social-mass movement in politics, has chosen this juncture to revolt from the intensely patriotic ranks of the party he sired and to announce a new alignment of liberal forces ready to take advantage of the first rift in the lowering clouds of present-day nationalism.

* * *

Japan's Population Problem Acute

Tokyo is now a city of seven million souls, and this phenomenal development is typical of all urban communities in Japan. It is definitely at the expense of rural areas and production, for city expansion has for many years been greater than the increased acreage or productivity of tillable land. This terrific population problem, ever uppermost in the minds of Japan's leaders, doubtless had much to do with the passage in the diet but recently adjourned of a forward-looking eugenics law providing among many things for sterilization of those deemed unfit for procreation. Probably for no other reason than the withdrawal of so many virile youth from normal life to military service, Japan's birth rate has slumped astoundingly in the past few years, especially in the rural districts, and some are agitating for the establishment under government supervision of marriage consultation bureaus to encourage earlier and more productive mating.

* * *

Government Watches Religious Sects

The new Religious Bodies Law went into effect on April 1. Already its influence is obvious. Organized sects of the three recognized faiths—Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity—are putting their affairs in conformity with the government regulations. Irregular or newly formed religious societies must be regularized or suffer penalties. Thus all threat to the established order may be quickly detected, and it is not surprising that even certain small and less tractable Christian groups are being eliminated from the nation's life.

* * *

Salvation Army Loses Leader

Your correspondent last month mentioned the Salvation Army as being under fire as an unpatriotic and even treason-ridden cult. The death of Lieutenant-General Gumpei Yamamuro just at this time has been a tragic loss, yet it gave opportunity for the imperial family through gifts and funeral tokens to express appreciation of the Salvation Army's significant contribution to the life of Japan. The home office police bureau, however, while the funeral was yet in the public mind announced its intention to ban from further circulation Yamamuro's 1890 publication, *The Common People's Gospel*, of which more than 500,000 copies have been sold during the past 50 years. "Some passages of the book of a disquieting nature... deleterious to the constitution and national spirit of Japan" are the reasons given.

* * *

Japan's Children Favor Germany

The Anti-Comintern Friendship Society after submitting a questionnaire to boys and girls of 100 Japanese middle schools and 350 elementary schools throughout Japan, Korea and Manchukuo, reports that 70 per cent favored a German victory in the present European war, 20 per cent wanted England and France to win, while 10 per cent were neutral or indifferent. It is this writer's judgment that this is a fair estimate of the nation's more mature judgment as well, though disillusionment over Germany's rapprochement with Russia, the viciousness of Germany's aggression, and Russia's rape of Finland have seriously aroused Japanese sensibilities. Sentiment for a German-Italian-Japanese and even for a Russo-Japanese rapprochement is, however, by no means extinct.

* * *

Toward National Socialism?

Even the great House of Mitsui has to bow to the trend of the times. The Mitsui Gomei Kaisha, heretofore a closed partnership corporation constituting the holding organization for all the Mitsui interests, announces its intention to merge with the Mitsui Bussan trading corporation and to open the shares of all affiliated companies to public subscription. This is a very definite move toward greater socialization of Japan's industrial life, but it also permits a degree of government participation in the management of Mitsui interests, which they

have previously resisted. The move seems therefore more in the direction of national socialism than toward a democratic economy.

* * *

And So Forth

College commencements are over and the payrolls of the nation's industries have been enlarged by the influx of youthful graduates. Time was, before the Manchurian "incident," when only 40 per cent of this annual incubation could be placed in jobs. Now everybody has a position, and if he wants better pay with more adventure he has only to express his willingness to go to Manchukuo or to north or central China.

Dysentery and smallpox—both imported from the continent—are on the increase in Japan. Heroic measures are being employed: the vaccination of 40,000 persons in one section of Tokyo the other day, compulsory inoculation of all school children, and forceful vaccination on a station platform of all passengers on a train in which a smallpox case was discovered. This seems to be part of the price to be paid for the new order in East Asia.

There is a growing shortage of labor throughout the land. To meet this crisis the overseas minister recently announced that 35,000 Korean workers were brought to Japan last year and that more will be admitted hereafter to help man Japan's wartime industries. The infusion of Japanese women into public life is also increasingly apparent.

The visit of Mr. Harold E. Fey has brought cheer and courage to the small but sincere group of pacifists in Japan. He has gone on to China but expects to be here again on his return journey in May. Excellent opportunities are being given him to sound out the deepest currents of Japanese and Chinese thought.

T. T. BRUMBAUGH.

Mrs. Niebuhr Accepts Barnard College Post

Mrs. Ursula M. Niebuhr, wife of Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, will join the faculty of Barnard College, Columbia University, next fall to teach in the department of religion. Mrs. Niebuhr was the first woman to receive first-class honors in theology at Oxford University and was the first Mills fellow at Union Seminary.

Death of Dr. F. J. Seaman, Minister And Humanitarian

Rev. Floyd J. Seaman, pastor of the Echo Park Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif., and "outstanding spiritual and civic leader," died in a local hospital April 15 of heart disease. He had been ill for many months. Before going to Echo Park Church, Dr. Seaman ministered at Grace Church on the east side of the city: there he organized a Fellowship Forum which brought together people of the many nationalities represented in that section, and developed a People's Institute with special courses for working people. Throughout his pastoral career he was known as a friend of the friendless. He was continually being called upon to speak in behalf of some minority group. Those who were close to Dr. Seaman believe that when he died "his long fight for justice for humanity had taken its toll."

Baptist Seminary Begins New Era

Philadelphia Institution Moves to Suburbs—Crozer Pastors' Conference—New President for Haverford

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, May 2.—Eastern Baptist Seminary, in a three-day celebration, has dedicated its beautiful buildings at its new location, City Line and Lancaster Avenue, Overbrook. Bought at much less than half its cost of $2,000,000, the Green Hill Farms hotel-apartments have been renovated, and $15,000 spent for improvements. Only a bank note of $60,000 remains to be paid. With a growing enrollment around 200, the seminary had been exceedingly hampered in its outmoded quarters on Rittenhouse Square. The change to the suburbs in the second semester has already proved a wholesome stimulus. Although a chapel has been added to the new main building, it is hoped to build a large and adequate chapel some time in the future at the corner, where two great highways meet. The new location and attractive buildings and furnishings are a tremendous asset.

* * *

Approves Fight Against Taylor Appointment

The stand of The Christian Century against the Taylor appointment to the Vatican was warmly commended in the dedication address of the seminary by Dr. M. E. Dodd of Shreveport, La., former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, who from a composite picture of other seminaries portrayed what Eastern Baptist should be. The dedicatory response was made by President Gordon Palmer; the dedicatory prayer by President-Emeritus Austen K. deBlois. Dr. Edwin Lewis of Drew gave the opening address on "The Christ We Proclaim" before the Baptist ministers' conference of Philadelphia and vicinity. Addresses were also made by Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, Dr. J. W. Decker, Dr. Earle V. Pierce, Dr. C. Gordon Brownville ('30) and Dr. Hillyer H. Straton ('29). Congratulatory messages were brought by a number of others. The dedication committee was composed of Dr. Curtis Lee Laws, Dr. Benjamin T. Livingston, Dr. Gordon Palmer and Dr. Harvey Bartle.

* * *

'Crises' Grip Crozer Pastors' Conference

Welcomed by President James H. Franklin, those who gathered at Chester, Pa., for the 10th annual pastors' conference at Crozer Theological Seminary were richly rewarded in their consideration of "The Church in the Present Crisis." Dr. Roswell P. Barnes of the Federal Council spoke on "The International Crisis" and "The Church and the World Community"; Prof. Douglas C. Macintosh of Yale on "The Religious Crisis"; Miss Alice Hanson on "The Church and Labor"; Dr. Oliver M. Butterfield on "The Church and the Family"; Dr. Oscar F. Blackwelder of Washington on "Worship in Times of Crisis" and "The Contributions of the Church to the Problems of American Democracy." Professor Macintosh questioned whether religious education

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as a substitute for Christian evangelism has been inoculating the younger generation with too mild a form of religion. He called for a renewed and revitalized Christian evangelicalism.

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State Council Holds Annual Convention

Many roads in this commonwealth on April 29, 30 led to Harrisburg for the 11th annual state convention of the Pennsylvania council of churches at the Pine Street Presbyterian Church and the 7th annual women's conference at Salem Evangelical and Reformed Church. Executive Secretary William L. Mudge and his associates arranged a stimulating program on "Christian Unity and the World Community." Among the speakers were Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Dr. H. S. Leiper, Dr. W. P. Shriver, Dr. H. S. Randolph, Dr. Barclay Acheson of the *Reader's Digest*, Dr. Jesse M. Bader, and Dr. Walter H. Judd.

* * *

Felix Morley Chosen To Head Haverford

Dr. Felix Morley, editor of the *Washington Post*, has been elected to the presidency of Haverford College to succeed President W. W. Comfort, who retires in June. His father, the late Frank Morley, was for 12 years professor of mathematics at Haverford and later headed the mathematics department at Johns Hopkins. All three Morley brothers are Haverford alumni and Rhodes scholars: Christopher, the eldest; Frank, Jr., the youngest; and Felix, who graduated in 1915. Awarded a Guggenheim fellowship to study the League of Nations, he organized and directed in Geneva the office of the League of Nations Association of the United States. For his editorial writings he received in 1936 the Pulitzer prize. His Ph.D. came from the Brookings Institution, Washington. Forty-six years old, Dr. Morley has two decades of constructive leadership ahead in this oldest Quaker college.

* * *

Church Federation Forms Citizens' Committees

At the annual dinner-meeting of the Philadelphia federation of churches was reported the formation in ten police districts of a citizens' committee not to criticize but to cooperate in law enforcement with the police captain of the division. Such committees are planned for every division. Liquor licenses have been reduced, bookmaking has been stopped, salacious literature lessened. A worship crusade will be pushed in the fall to reinforce the local churches. Dr. E. A. E. Palmquist is executive secretary; Dr. George E. Barnes of the Overbrook Presbyterian Church, president. The guest speaker at the dinner-meeting, Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, is the new superintendent of the Philadelphia public schools.

* * *

First Christian Church Pays Off Debt

Under the leadership of the pastor, Rev. Harold R. Browne, the First Christian Church here has liquidated its $277,000 debt on its cathedral church on Roosevelt Boulevard, which cost $500,000. Trained by the Demand organization, a group of 60 persons raised during the last week the final $80,000 to free the church from all indebtedness. Twelve years ago, under Rev. Wilford H. McClain, the present edifice was built. A spiritual revival within the congregation is regarded as the finest benefit of the financial campaign.

* * *

Herbert Hoover Addresses Y.M.C.A. Dinner

"The world is waiting for some spiritual or ethical control over material power, and it cannot wait long," said Herbert Hoover, addressing a distinguished audience of 1,500 at the annual dinner of the Philadelphia Y.M.C.A. "Life goes the way that youth finally takes," continued the former President. "This mass of American youth is a bright spot of American civilization. We are able to support 6,424,963 youth in high schools, 1,208,227 in institutions of higher learning. . . . When we have surrendered the right of character-building to the state, we have surrendered to totalitarian government. Voluntary action makes personality and character."

* * *

Calls Gandhi 'Great Politician'

Rev. James B. Pritchard of the Parkside Methodist Church was host to the April meeting of the Chester Ministerium, which was addressed by Dr. Sam Higginbottom of India, moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly. Crediting Gandhi with having given to India a sense of oneness, Dr. Higginbottom called him "a great statesman but a greater politician." "We must get the message of Christ," he said, "into only into the world of geography but into the world of ideas."

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

Tipple Estate Provides Drew Fellowships

According to the provisions of the will of Mrs. Ezra Squier Tipple, who died on March 28, one-third of her estate is to be used to establish the "Ezra Squier Tipple and Edna White Tipple Scholarship Fund" at Drew Theological Seminary; one-third to establish a fellowship in preaching in memory of her husband; and one-third to provide another fellowship at the seminary. Dr. Tipple, who died four years ago, served as president of Drew Seminary for nine years.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

Ma, He's Making Eyes at Me (Univ.) Tom Brown	*Comedy.* Young advertising man creates campaign to sell exclusive frocks to working girls.	Far-fetched situations absurdly strung together. Harebrained schemes become most boring. *Amateurish.*
The Man Who Wouldn't Talk (Fox) Lloyd Nolan, Jean Rogers, Onslow Stevens	*Melodrama.* Elaboration of play, "The Valiant." Murderer confesses to save innocent man, hides identity to shield family; is acquitted by surprise witness.	Less effective than play, in which man is executed without identity being known. Becomes routine mystery by use of flash-backs to clear everything up. Good use of suspense; leading roles well done. *Fairly interesting* M, Y
The Primrose Path (RKO) Ginger Rogers, Joel McCrea, Q. Vassar, M. Rambeau, M. Mander	*Drama.* Prostitute's daughter conceals background to marry hamburger-stand operator. Discovering truth, he casts her off, relents in time to save her from family "profession."	Picture of outcast family in small town convincingly set forth, particularly by character actors, but motivation for events and character changes not made clear. Definitely adult. *A sincere portrayal, but theme unresolved.* M
The Saint's Double Trouble (RKO) G. Sanders, Jonathan Hill	*Mystery-melodrama.* Continues series about suave adventurer eternally wanted by police for high-handed competition in crime-solving.	Humorous but confusing since Sanders plays Saint and "double" indistinguishably. Series questionable ethically, since Saint as hero takes things in his own hands, outwits bungling police. Fair thriller. M
Star Dust (Fox) L. Darnell, John Payne, Roland Young, C. Greenwood	*Comedy.* Young "victims" of Hollywood talent search strive, suffer, finally succeed in film careers.	Not spectacularly done, but smoothly and pleasantly told, with scenes featured by discerning comedy. *Entertaining.*
Strange Cargo (MGM) J. Crawford, Clark Gable, Ian Hunter, Paul Lukas, A. Dekker	*Melodrama.* Convicts and banished cabaret girl, fleeing Devil's Island through jungle and sea, led to repentance by presence among them of Christlike stranger.	Harrowing scenes. Injection of "third-floor-back" motif unconvincing; suggesting the miraculous in religious philosophy, it makes whole sordid film, and, despite some good character portrayal, *confused and objectionable.*
Young as You Feel (Fox) "The Jones Family"	*Comedy.* Father sells drugstore to "begin living." Takes family to city, where misadventures convince him he belongs behind counter.	Like rest of series, amiable, obvious, not meant to be anything but laugh-getter. Byington charming but wasted in mother role. *For the non-critical, enjoyable.* M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Swiss Family Robinson, Pinocchio, Young Tom Edison.

For Mature Audience: We Art Not Alone, Gone With the Wind, Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet, Vigil in the Night, Grapes of Wrath, The Shop Around the Corner, Abe Lincoln in Illinois, Of Mice and Men, Rebecca, It's a Date, Lights Out in Europe, Harvest.

WHY was Pierre du Pont on the side of the drys prior to 1926—then overnight the biggest contributor to the cause of repeal, giving $30,000 or more a year —much more than even the biggest brewers?

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Mr. Dobyns, an attorney trained in the sifting and evaluation of evidence, spent upwards of ten years in studying the record of the repeal of Prohibition. His sources are unimpeachable—the records of congressional investigations and the files of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, also many letters written by Du Pont and his allies which damn them out of their own mouths.

This powerful book is destined to become the Bible of the new movement against the liquor traffic.

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3 Other Books for the Times

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